

The Classical Review

JUNE 1903.

THE *nomos* of Timotheus of Miletus, innovating musician and poet, may now be studied in the edition of Prof. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf. The style of this ode on the great defeat of Xerxes will doubtless be a shock to tastes trained on the Attic models. Its bragging compound epithets, its *σμαργδοχαίτης πόντος* and *ιχθυοστέφει μαρμαροπτέρους κόλποισιν Ἀφροδίτας*, and its artificial periphrases, *τρόφιμον ἄγγος* for the throat and *στόματος μαρμαροφεγγεῖς παῖδες* for the teeth, are rather startling than effective. Of a piece is the introduction into a serious poem of frankly solecistic Greek, such as the suppliant Asiatic's *ἦγε* for *ἦγαγε* and *κάθω* for *καθεδοῦμαι*. But for the light, direct and indirect, which it throws on Greek lyrical and musical development the fragment is most precious.

It is time that there was a protest against the practice which certain foreign publishers adopt of printing corrigenda and addenda to a publication upon the back or inside of its paper cover instead of on a separate page or slip. This petty economy is particularly inconvenient when a work is published in parts which appear at lengthy intervals and we are especially sorry to note that a firm of the standing of Messrs. Teubner of Leipzig allow it in a book of the importance of Roscher's *Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology*.

Steps are being taken towards the formation of a Classical Association for England and Wales, and it is hoped that a meeting of those interested in the project will be held in the course of the next few months.

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The objects of the contemplated association are to bring the friends of the classics closer together, by so doing to secure for classical studies their due recognition in the education of the country, and to consider and promote improvements in classical teaching. Space forbids details: but amongst those already supporting the movement may be mentioned the names of Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Principal N. Bodington, Yorkshire College of Science, Dr. Gow, Westminster School, Miss Penrose, Royal Holloway College, Prof. Sonnenschein, University of Birmingham, and Prof. R. S. Conway, University College, Cardiff. Those who are favourable to the project are asked to send their names with suggestions as to the date and place of the first meeting to either of the two last named gentlemen, or to the editor of this Review.

Apropos of Classical Associations, we are glad to welcome the Cambridge Classical Society, of the foundation of which a brief account is furnished by a contributor in another column.

It is with great regret that we announce that the increasing pressure of other work compels Mr. A. B. Cook to relinquish the assistant-editorship which he has held for nearly five years. We are sure that this feeling will be shared by all our readers, though they cannot from the nature of the case fully appreciate how much the *Review* owes to Mr. Cook's able and devoted service.

R

HOMERIC NOTES.

Iliad iv, 201 f. and 222.

Verses 221-222 tell how at the advance of the Trojans, the Greeks again put on their armour and prepared for battle. Is this a contradiction of what has been told but twenty verses before? Verses 199-202 are as follows:

βῆ δ' ἰέναι κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
παπταίνων ἥρωα Μαχάονα. τὸν δὲ νόησεν
ἱστῶν· ἄμφι δέ μιν κρατερὰὶ στίχες ἀσπι-
στάων

λαῶν, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο Τρίκης ἐξ ἱπποβότοιο.

Ameis-Hentze, Anhang to Book IV, page 19, after setting aside the various arguments urged against the earlier portions of this book, conclude thus:

"Ueberdies bleibt der nicht zu beseitigende Anstoss, in den Uebergangsversen 221-222, die Neuruestung der Achaeer, befremdend, weil Machaon und seine Scharen bereits 201 bewaffnet dastehen. Dieser Anstoss kann nicht durch die von Benicken vorgenommene Athese von 222 beseitigt werden, denn dieselbe Voraussetzung liegt auch der folgende Epipoleis zu Grunde, wie 252 θωρήσσοντο und 274, κορυσσεύσθην zeigen."

But is the arming of the Greeks in 222 a contradiction of 201 f.? Does 201 describe the Greeks as already armed? Does ἀσπιστῶν mean those already armed, or is it a general word for warriors? In Il. v, 577, the verse ἀρχὸν Παφλαγόνων μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστῶν means simply, 'Leader of the proud Paphlagonian warriors.' So in the passage in question, ἀσπιστῶν is another Homeric example of the use of an adjective which applied at one time, as if it applied at all times. In Il. v, 375 Aphrodite in tears is called 'the laughter-loving Aphrodite' φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη. And in Il. v, 769, and in Od. ix, 527, although it is mid-day, the sky is still called 'starry.'

And Od. iii, 400 Nestor puts Telemachus to bed, 'and by his side he put Peisistratus of good-ashen spear.' εὐμμελὴν Πεισίστρατον. Certainly we cannot think that Peisistratus would take an ashen spear to bed with him in time of peace, so in this passage, Il. iv, 201 f. κρατερὰὶ στίχες ἀσπιστῶν, the meaning is not 'strong ranks of men already armed,' but 'mighty ranks of warriors.' There is no contradiction between 201 f. and the later passages 222, 252,

274, which describe the Greeks as arming. There is no need of emending, as no contradiction exists.

Iliad, x, 243, and *Odyssey* i, 65.

πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαβοίμην,

In the *Iliad* these are the words of Diomedes, in the *Odyssey* the words of Zeus. Ameis-Hentze, Anhang to Il. x, 243, 'W. Jordan bemerkte dass an keiner andern Stelle θεῖος im Munde eines Gottes von einem Menschen gebraucht werde.' This is regarded as a decisive reason for making the passage in K the original one, and for making the verse in the *Odyssey* borrowed from it. Yet in ε, 11 Athene the goddess says of this same mortal, Odysseus, ὡς οὔτις μέμνηται Ὀδυσῆος θείοιο.

Zeus himself uses it of Heracles in *Iliad* Il. xv, 25; but the word is nowhere used by Diomedes, except this place in Il. x. Then too the phrase Ὀδυσῆος θείοιο amounts almost to a mannerism in the *Odyssey*, occurring no less than twenty-six times. The frequency of this phrase, and the fact that Od. v, 11, is an exact parallel, where the same phrase is put in the mouth of a god, and the added fact that θείοιο is elsewhere used by Zeus, but never by Diomedes, are negative proofs of the originality of Od. i. 65.

Then too the condescending yet self-assertive tone of the verse is better suited to the king of the gods, than to the quiet blunt Diomedes. In Il. x, Diomedes had no occasion to put in ἐγὼ as he contrasts himself with no one; while the whole tone of the passage in the *Odyssey* demands the use of ἐγὼ by Zeus.

Iliad, xi, 233 ff.

Iliad xi, 233 ff. describes the duel between Agamemnon and Iphidamas. Agamemnon hurls first and misses, yet in the end slays Iphidamas. To this the scholiast notes, μόνον νῦν ὁ πρότερος ἀφείς νικᾷ καὶ δεύτερον ἀφείς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις μονομαχίαις τετρήρηται ὅτι ὁ πρότερος ἀφείς νικᾷται.

This note is repeated without comment by Leaf and Bayfield, in their note to xi, 233, 'This is the only instance in the *Iliad* where the warrior who has the first cast and misses his shot still wins in the end.'

Both these notes are wrong, as in the *Iliad* xiii. 600-619 the story of the combat between Menelaus and Peisander is narrated

where the first cast is made by Menelaus, he fails, yet wins in the end. The duel in xiii, is almost a duplicate of the one in xi.

Odyssey iii, 269.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι.

To whom does μιν refer? A glance at the different annotated editions will show that it has been referred to Agamemnon, Aegisthus, the bard, and Clytaemnestra.

The examples used to support the view that Clytaemnestra is meant, and that δαμῆναι can be used unmodified of yielding to lust, are not exact parallels, because in no case is δαμῆναι thus used absolutely, but is explained by ἔρωσ or φιλότῃ. An exact parallel would be where loss of virtue is spoken of as destruction, without an explaining word. Such an example, though late, is found in Lysias i. 8, where the old farmer in telling how the adulterer corrupted his wife, says, καὶ λόγους προσφέρων ἀπώλεσεν αὐτήν. Here ἀπώλεσεν is exactly the causative of δαμῆναι and shows that the loss of virtue may be spoken of as destruction, without a modifying word.

Odyssey iv, 511.

Proteus in describing the death of Ajax

Oileus to Menelaus uses the following grim and seeming cruel humour, *Odyssey* iv, 511.

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐνθ' ἀπώλεον, ἐπεὶ πῖεν ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.

'Thus there he perished, since he drank salt water.'

The apparent heartlessness of these words led Eustathius to reject the verse. Nitzsch, Dindorf, and many editors have rejected it. A very close parallel to this grim humour is found in *Hamlet*, Act iv. scene vii., where Laertes is told of the death of his sister Ophelia.

Laertes Alas, then she is drown'd !

Queen Drown'd, drown'd.

Laertes Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,

And therefore I forbid my tears.

Certainly if Shakespeare could put in the mouth of a brother such grim humour as 'Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,' Homer might easily let Proteus make a similar grim jest on the arrogant and foreign Ajax.

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THE ANCIENT NAME OF GLA.

THE rock fortress which once stood in Lake Copais and whose remains are known at the present day as Ghà, Glà, or Goulas, has not been identified with any ancient site. Noack, in his well-known article (*Ath. Mitth.* 19. 463 sq.) concluded for Arne, but his hypothesis was rejected by de Ridder (*B.C.H.* 18. 446) and is not generally accepted (Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 129).

While reading Rzach's new edition of *Hesiod* I came across the following fragment (No. 38) quoted by Strabo, p. 424 : καὶ Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐπὶ πλέον περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ [sc. τοῦ Κηφισσοῦ] λέγει καὶ τῆς ῥύσεως, ὡς δι' ὅλης ῥέει τῆς Φωκίδος σκολιῶς καὶ δρακοντοειδῶς.

παρὲκ Πανοπῆα διὰ Γλήχωνα τ' ἐρυμνὴν καὶ τε δι' Ἐρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένους εἰσι δράκων ὥς.

There are some variants on the form of the words παρὲκ Πανοπῆα, but they do not affect the rest of the quotation.

I venture to suggest that Γλήχων may be the ancient name of Glà or Goulas. The

word does not appear to occur elsewhere, and Sittl (ed. 1889, p. 607) has recourse to the desperate expedient of reading Τρηχύν'.

In favour of this identification may be urged (1) the similarity of name, Γλάχων and Glà, (2) the fact that Glà does stand upon the course of the Cephissus or Melas, and must have been after Orchomenus the most important place upon it, (3) the epithet ἐρυμνὴν suits Glà as well as τευχίόεσσαν Tiryns. (4) There is an obvious parallel between the disappearance of the name Γλήχων and the oblivion which overtook Glà.

Against this is to be set the fact that the places in Hesiod's lines occur in the wrong order. This, however, may fairly be set down to the epic manner.¹ The places mentioned in the Catalogue occur in any

¹ Which Strabo 408 recognises and excuses. 'Ὁ ποιητὴς ἀτάκτως χρῆται τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν τόπων τῶν τε ἀξιολόγων καὶ τῶν μὴ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ ἀσήμεροις τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ ἐν μεσογαίᾳ μηδ' αὖ τῇ τάξει διαπεσεῖν.

order, and even where the poet might be expected to be more precise, as in accounts of journeys, the sequence of localities is violated. So *h. Apoll.* 423 Cretans sailing north along the west coast of the Peloponnese, past the 'ford of the Alpheus' before they come to Pylos, Cruni, and Chalcis, and which are known to have been to the south of that river, and *ib.* 242 Apollo proceeding

through Boeotia westwards comes to Ocalea before Haliartus. Again if it be thought that Strabo's wording should include Glechon in Phocis, the answer is that Glechon as a site had been forgotten for centuries.¹

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Strabo may have taken the quotation from Theopompus, who is his authority for this district.

SOME PASSAGES OF AESCHYLUS AND OTHERS.

THEBAE.

Theb. 83. The Theban women overhear the spy's report, and are then supposed to leave their houses and rush together for sanctuary to the Gods. What has struck them with such panic terror is the announcement that the enemy is coming:

59 ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς
χωρεῖ, κόνιε, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρός
χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππίων ἐκ πλευμόνων·

and it is out of these words that their imaginations weave what follows:

μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών,
ρεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας·
αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανείσθαι
ἀναυδος σαφὴς ἔνιμος ἄγγελος·

83 ἔλε δέ μ' ἀσπίδων πάταγος . . .
..... πεδί' ὀπλοκτύπ . . .

where ἔλε με is used in precisely the same way as by the Danaids in a similar situation, *Supp.* 794 πατὴρ σκοπαὶ δέ μ' εἶδον· οἴχομαι φόβῳ. But the transcriber's eye, instead of continuing the word ἀσπίδων, was diverted by the πεδί so resembling it below, and what he has bequeathed is only

ἐλεδέμασπεδιοπλοκτύπος

leaving scholiasts to suppose an adjective ἐλεδεμαῖς, or to conjecture ἐλεδεμένας. Another's comment καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μιν πεδία κατακτυπούμενα κτέ. leaves it doubtful whether he is trying to explain ἔλε δ' ἐμᾶς or whether τὰς ἐμᾶς did actually precede πεδί' in the original.

125 σύ τ' Ἄρης φεῦ φεῦ ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου
πόλιν
φύλαξον κήδεσά τ' ἐναργῶς.

I suspect this is a gloss either on τὰν Καδμώνυμον or τὰν γαμβρώνυμον, i.e. τὰν Καδμεΐαν: it would be a natural explanatory

form, as in Lycophr. 183 τοῦ ἐπώνυμου τοῦ πολέμου is the explanation of οὐλαμώνυμον.

SUPPLICES.

1033 ὑποδέσασθε δ' ὁπαδοὶ μέλος . . . Mr. Tucker says 'ὑποδέσασθε. not = διαδέσασθε. The ὁπαδοὶ bear no part in the words . . . The attendants are only bidden to accompany the song with suitable steps or motions'. Such a proceeding is no doubt conceivable, but I do not discover any warrant for it in the language. ὑποδέσασθαι was used for 'to succeed' in time or place: *Hdt.* 7. 176 τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡὼ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέχεται καὶ τενάγαι. And in *Ath.* 694 a (*F.H.G.* iv. 342) Artemon, explaining how σκόλια came to be so called, employs the term ὑποδοχή to describe the method of singing in succession: there were three ways of singing τὰ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας, of which the third was τὸ σκολιὸν 'zig-zag': τριῶν γενῶν ὄντων . . . ὦν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὁ δὴ πάντας ἀδειν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὁ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἦδον οὐ μὴν ἄμα γε ἀλλ' ἅ¹ κατὰ τινα περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς, τὸ τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τάξιν ἔχον, οὐ μετέχον οὐδέτι πάντες ἀλλ' οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τόπον τινα εἰ τύχοιεν ὄντες.² διόπερ ὡς ἀταξίαν τινὰ μόνον παρὰ τὰλλα ἔχον τὸ μῆθ' ἄμα μῆθ' ἐξ ἧς γινόμενον σκόλιον ἐκλήθη. The first was a general chorus, ἄμα πάντες, *tutti*; in the second all took part, only not all at the same time (ἄμα), but successively (ἐξ ἧς, ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς); the third was by *solo* voices picked out here and there at any place. The second fashion is described as καθ' ἑνα ἐξ ἧς by Dicaearchus in *Schol. Plat. Gorg.* 451 E where the meaning of the words lost is evident from

¹ I correct the MS. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε κατὰ . . . *Ath. Pol.* p. 8² Sandys ὥσπερ δ' οὐχ ἄμα πάντες οἱ ἐννία ἀρχοντες ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς . . . *Plat. Theaet.* 189 E ἦτοι ἄμα γε ἡ ἐξ ἐμῆς.

² Add this to the Dictionaries.

³ καθ' ὅτινα τόπον αἱ τὴν τύχοιεν ὄντες Kaibel, or καθ' ὅτινα τύχοιεν ὄντες τόπον.

Athenaeus. I do not therefore see why ὑποδέξασθε μέλος should not mean 'take up the strain', as Miriam in Exodus 15. 21 takes up the song of Moses in v. 1. The Choruses in Tragedy as our texts give them are merely the *libretti*; they do not indicate ὑποδοχαί, but in Aeschylus at any rate there is enough to show us they were frequent; and it would not be surprising if there had been considerable use of solo voice.

AGAMEMNON.

189 στάζει δ' ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνος
καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν
δαίμωνων δὲ που χάρις βίαία (or βίαιος)
σέλημα σεμνὸν ἡμένον.

στάζει is rightly explained by Dr. Verrall: 'The admonitory recollection of experience is compared to a wound which long afterwards will ache at times and even break out again, reminding the sufferer of the original hurt.' I cannot go with him further in his reading and explanation, for he considers it an erroneous assumption that the ὕπνος is that of the sufferer, and that on this assumption nothing can be made of the passage; but the root of the idea is a sore that oozes, bleeds, breaks out again. And ἔν ὕπνῳ is a most important part of it. Bodily disease may be unfelt in the activity of day, but will disturb the sick man's rest upon his bed: Dio Chrys. II p. 169 R. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόσημα οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναισθητον τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὥς μηδέποτε βλάβειν μηδὲ ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι μηδεμιᾶς πράξεως, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐρηγοροῦσι καὶ¹ βαδίζοντι μὴ σφόδρα ἐνοχλῇ, αἷς γε τὴν κοίτην ἀπῆντησε καὶ διασπᾷ καὶ διαφθεῖρει τὸν ὕπνον. And as it is with bodily diseases, so it is with the sufferings of a wounded spirit, which is eloquently, stated by Achilles Tatius i. 6, ὥς δ' εἰς τὸ δωματίον παρήλθον, ἔμβα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὐδ' ὕπνον τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τᾶλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγυδόνας: ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσεῖν: τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα μὴ κινουμένων τοῦ σώματος πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾷ. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὅσα πολλῆς γεμίζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσον τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἀντιπεριέργοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς: εἰ δ' ἡσυχία τὸ σῶμα πεδῇ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ

γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγίρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμόμενα: τοῖς περβοῦσιν αἱ λῆπαι, τοῖς μερμῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἔρῳσι τὸ πῦρ. Conscience also 'chastens in the night-season,' as they say in the Old Testament, from which many illustrations could be drawn; the best, perhaps, are Job 33. 14. *For God speaketh once, yea twice, in a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction, that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man; he keepeth back man from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones: and so on; such act of God is a χάρις βίαιος*—whom he loveth he chasteneth—to make man repent and deliver his soul from going into the pit: 5. 17 *Happy is the man whom God correcteth; therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: for he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth and his hands make whole. Psalm 16. 7 I will bless the Lord who hath given me counsel: yea, my reins instruct me in the night seasons.* συμφέρει, as we are told in the *Eumenides* v. 523 σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένῃ, under the deterrent influence of fear; and when fear was sent divinely to a man, it was commonly in the time of rest upon his bed, in dream (Job 4. 12—17, 30. 15—17, *Wisdom of Solomon* 17 and 18. 17—19²); and such fears in the Greek view, came by the agency of δαίμονες, black spirits (e.g. *Cho.* 282—8): thus were theologised the twinges of a guilty conscience, which Plato in *Rep.* 330 D—E describes as torturing a man upon his death-bed with the fear of Hell, and causing him to start up, like a frightened child, from sleep: he had ridiculed such myths before, but now they rack him with the apprehension that they may be true—whether it be merely from the weakness of old age, or because he really sees those terrors plainer, being nearer to them. It was in dream that the divine part of us waked and saw; εἶδει δέ, says Pindar in *fr.* 131, *πρασσόντων μελέων*, it lies dormant while the limbs are active, but becomes prophetic when we are asleep. Aeschylus can hardly not have shared in this Pythagorean doctrine, and must I think include allusion to it here; it is his brevity in allusion to familiar doctrine that makes his lyrics difficult. μνησιπήμων like μνησιστέφανος ἄγων in Pindar means 'put-

¹ κἂν in one MS. wrongly as in Soph. *Trach.* 1108; κἂν followed by γε means 'even though . . . , yet . . .'

² Though the object is not here regarded as deterrent: compare Lysias 105.

ting in mind of suffering,' and could mean both 'reminding of the past' and 'warning of the future.'—*πρὸ καρδίας* is 'at the seat of consciousness,' cf. 967, Cho. 390, *Eum.* 103.—The *τε* in *ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ*, which critics either alter or ignore, is to be taken, as I have pointed out, with *καί*, and means *simul ac*; if this very common construction had been recognised here, I do not think we should have heard of any objection to *ἐν ὕπνῳ*.

352 οὗ τῶν ἀλόντες αὐθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν : Zenob. i. 35, Diogen. i. 33 αἰρῶντες ἡρήμεσθα, Suid. αἰρήσω τάχα, Ael. *N.H.* i. 29 αἰρεῖ τοὺς ὀριθοθήρας ἡρημένῃ, Opp. *Hal.* 2. 133 ἀλλύμενοι δ' ὀλέκονται καὶ οὐς πέφνουσι φονήσας, Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 3. 20 εἰ οἱ κυκλοῦμενοι κυκλωθῆεν, *A.P.* ix. 14 εἴλε δ' ἀλούς, Soph. *O.C.* 1025 ἔχων ἔχει, καὶ σ' εἴλε θηρώνθ' ἡ τύχη : such phrases for 'the biter bit,' 'turning the tables' or 'catching a Tartar' are favourite in Greek and Latin ; but my object is to quote enough to warrant a correction of Soph. *O.C.* 547. I think it ought to run like this :

OI. ἔχει δέ μοι πρὸς δίκας τι. XO. τί γάρ ;
OI. ἐγὼ φράσω·

καὶ γὰρ ἀλούς ἔλον, εἰ καὶ ἀπώλεσα·
νόμῳ δὲ καθαρὸς, αἰδῶρις ἐς τὸδ' ἐλθὼν.

'If I slew, it was only in retaliation ; and I am innocent in law, as having been led into the act unwittingly.'

That of course is his plea, 271-4, 975-7, 988-98, and that was the legal view and legal formula, Plat. *Legg.* 865 Stallbaum. 869 D, 874 B—C. The order is καὶ γὰρ ἀλούς ἔλον here because the stress is not on ἔλον but on ἀλούς. The MSS. give καὶ γὰρ ἄλλους ἐφόνευσα καὶ ἀπώλεσα (or attempting to make metre, *καπώλεσα*) νόμῳ δὲ καθαρὸς αἰδῶρις ἐς τὸδ' ἦλθον. First ἄλλους for ἀλούς (Hermann) was an easy error ; then ἐφόνευσα was the gloss on ἔλον, for it was the regular way of explaining ἀνελεῖν and ἐλεῖν in this sense ; e.g. Bekk. *An.* 396. I ἀνείλεν : ... ἔστιν ὅτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφόνευσσε λαμβάνεται. Hesych. ἀνέλω : φονεύσω. *Eumen.* 357 φίλον ἔλη : φονεύσῃ. *Phoen.* 755 ἔλοι δορί : φονεύσαι. *Lycophr.* 435 εἴλε : ἐφόνευσσε. Better still perhaps would be καὶ γὰρ ἀλούς ἔλον,—εἰ καὶ ἀπώλεσα, νόμῳ γε καθαρὸς, αἰδῶρις ἐς τὸδ' ἐλθὼν 'even though I slew, yet pure in the law's eye ;' but in any case I can't help feeling we want ἐλθὼν : it would have been easy to misunderstand the construction and write ἦλθον.

592 KA.

616 οὐκ οἶδα τέρψιν—οὐδ' ἐπίλογον
φάτιν—
ἄλλον πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ
βαφάς.

618 KH. τοῖσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων
οὐκ αἰσχροὺς ὡς γυναῖκι γενναῖα
λακεῖν.

XO. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι
τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.
σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ—Μενέλεων δὲ
πεύθομαι
εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν
ἦξει σὺν ἡμῖν, τῇσδε γῆς φίλον
κράτος.

The MS. gives 618-9 to the Herald ; most critics follow Hermann now in giving them to Clytemnestra (Paley, Weil, Enger, Schneidewin, Karsten, Margoliouth, Wecklin, Sidgwick) ; Dr. Verrall thinks they are spoken by a 'Conspirator.' The passage is no doubt a trying one ; but if it has not been treated successfully hitherto, the reason is, I think, that critics have not allowed themselves to be guided by the usages of language. Many of them for instance (as Schuetz, Davies, Conington, and Dr. Verrall) begin by rendering τοῖσδ' ὁ κόμπος '*talis quidem sui iactatio*, 'a boast like this,' 'that sort of boast,' as though it were τοῖσδε κόμπος : now a sound method, I submit, would say 'τοῖσδ' ὁ κόμπος cannot mean "a boast like this," but only "*such is the boast*," and unless it is corrupt—which is improbable, for corruption would rather be the other way—our explanation must allow it its due meaning.' Let us then follow the guidance of the language, and see where that will lead us to.

μανθάνω means *intellego*, 'I see,' 'I understand,' 'I take your meaning' ; μανθάνεις ; 'do you see ?' Examples are abundant in Comedy and Plato : Eur. *Or.* 1129 ΠΥ. εἰρ' αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦτ' ὅσον οἱ τείνειν χρεῶν. OP. Ἑλένην φονεύειν μανθάνω τὸ σύμβολον. ΠΥ. ἔγνω. Ar. *Ran.* 64 ΔΙ. ἀρ' ἐκδιδάσκω [tragic] τὸ σαφές, ἢ τέρα φράσω ; HP. μὴ δῆτα περὶ ἔτινος γε πᾶν γὰρ μανθάνω. And μανθάνεις accordingly means 'you understand,' *rem tenes*, as Lucian i. 564 ΑΓΟ. οὐκοῦν . . . δηλον ὅτι μόνος ὁ σπουδαῖος μισθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ λήψεται ; XPYΣ. μανθάνεις. This is implied by a participle in Cho. 112, HA. ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ τὰρ ἐπεύξωμαι τάδε ; XO. αὕτη σὺ ταῦτα μανθάνοντι ἤδη φράσαι, i.e. μανθάνεις ; and the same is implied here by μανθάνοντί σοι : 'Her speech is thus, as you understand.' The person addressed, therefore, must have shown the Elder that he understands ; and it follows that the previous remark cannot have been made by Clytemnestra : seeing

¹ Ἄρα γε διδάσκω ; in Alexis 116. 14 is the Attic. In *P.V.* 786 Messrs. Sikes and Willson have restored ὡς τοῖνυν ὄνταν τῶνδε μανθάνειν πάρα.

no reason to believe in Dr. Verrall's Conspirator, I conclude that the MS. is right in assigning 618-9 to the Herald. αὐτὴ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε is a formula dismissing her case, as 941 τοῦ μὲν μὲν οὕτω, *Eum.* 556, *Theb.* 409, 1003, *Supp.* 513; they jot in *μανθάνοντί σοι*, and add a plainer explanation in the following line, of which the natural interpretation is 'in the judgment of good critics—those who can read between the lines—only very specious words.' Then σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ, is the antithesis to αὐτὴ μὲν αὐτως, 'now for your story further.'

λακεῖν is an invidious word; it means 'to scream' or 'cry aloud without reserve or self-control' (αἰεῖν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα *Theb.* 169, *Supp.* 884): it is used contemptuously by Clytemnestra of the bawling news-bringers in 856, and her 'γυναικεῖον νόμον' ὁλολυγμὸν ἔλασκον' in 601 is a retort, quoting the contemptuous judgments passed on her supposed impetuous behaviour; in 1427 περιφρόνα ἔλακες is used of her by the Chorus (as κομπάζεις in 1399) to rebuke her vaunting menaces, but a woman of her character would never, I think, apply it to herself: in 287 she replies with scorn οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάκοιμι¹ βριζούσης φρενός 'I should not come crying the mere fancy of a drowsing brain.'

But the most important phrase is ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ, which so far as I can find, two critics only—Peile and Mr. Margoliouth²—make any attempt to deal with. Yet every one knows the force this ὡς after an adjective should have; a limiting or qualifying force; not, as Peile takes it, 'particularly for a noble lady,' but 'for such a person as a noble lady,' 'considering that a noble lady is the speaker.' Examples are familiar, as *Soph. O.T.* 1118 πιστὸς ὡς νομεῖς

¹ This is Karsten's correction of the MS. λάβοιμι which cannot bear the sense attributed to it here; that would be οὐδ' ἂν δεχοίμην δόξαν εἰδοῦσης φρενός. But δόξαν λαβεῖν is used only in the following senses: (1) to get reputation, with or without an epithet, or with a genitive reputation of or for; as λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ἔπαινον, φόρον, ὕμνος, εὐκλειαν, διαβολήν, φθόνον, αἰσχύνην, γέλωτα etc., (2) to conceive a notion (of), entertain a conception (of), as λαβεῖν ἐννοίαν, φαντασίαν, νόησιν. But δόξαν or δόκησιν λέγειν is to state mere opinion as opposed to knowledge: λάκοιμι is a stronger synonym of λέγοιμι, and now the emphasis falls where it should, on δόξαν.—In that passage the old men assume she has only ordinary woman's reasons, dream or rumour, as in *Eur. Hel.* 1190 πότερον ἐννόχους πεπεισμένη στένευς ὀνείροις ἢ φάτιν τιν' οἰκοῦν κλύουσα; and ἄπτερος φάτις, of which fantastic explanations have been given, means a winged, or metaphorically a wing-swift rumour. φήμη, fama, was a thing that flew.

² Mr. Margoliouth gave the lines to Clytemnestra, reading ὦν for ὡς: 'eur ut feminae nobili? neque enim alii cuiquam indecorus fuisset.'

ἀνὴρ 'trusty as any, in his shepherd's place,' *O.C.* 20 μακρὰν γὰρ ὡς γέροντι προϋστάλης ὁδὸν 'a long way for an old man,' *Aj.* 395 ἔρεβος ὧ φαεννότατον, ὡς ἐμοί, *Plat. Sophist.* 226 c ταχεῖαν, ὡς ἐμοί, σκέψιν ἐπιτάττει 'a rapid process of thought for such as I am' (Sir R. Jebb's versions), *Parmen.* 136 d πολὺ ἔργον προστάττει ὡς τηλικῶδε, *Dio Chrys.* II. p. 267 R. δριμὺν <μὲν> καὶ δόλιον ὡς ἐν τοῖς τότε, πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχοντα τῆς νῦν κακορθείας, *Thuc.* v. 43 ἡλικία μὲν ἔτι τότε ὦν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, iv. 84 ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν. The meaning then, according to the use of language, should be 'not discreditable for a noble lady; allowance must be made for such a person; she cannot of course be expected to have the same high standard of dignity and reticence and delicacy as a common'—I cannot say what type he would have chosen: but can that be his meaning? Should it not be just the opposite, that such unabashed avowals, though brim-full of truth, are surely indecorous, unbecoming a true gentlewoman? You have only to make the punctuation interrogative to let him say so:

[Exit Clytemnestra.

Herald. Brave protestation; though brim-full of truth,

Surely, for a noble lady, shame to cry it!

Elder. We have heard her story,—as you apprehend,

In the ear of judgment, very specious words.—

But tell us, Herald, our beloved prince

Menelaus, shall we see him safe back with you?

The Chorus are well aware of her hypocrisy; therefore I do not think 618-9 would be said by one of them; but the Herald, who knows nothing, is surprised and unfavourably impressed, thinking that noble ladies do not usually proclaim their fidelity and affection in such terms; thinking perhaps that there is some indecency in her saying 'that I may give my honoured lord the best and soonest welcome—for to a woman's eyes what hour is dearer than ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ, σώσαντος θεοῦ, πύλας ἀνοίξει';³ Clytemnestra here of course is merely over-acting; but in Sophocles her true behaviour is such that Electra refuses her the character γενναία γυνή: *El.* 287 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ λόγισι γενναία γυνή⁴ φωνοῦσα τοιῷδ' ἐξονειδίζει κακῶς,

³ *Eur. Cycl.* 498 θύραν τίς οἶξαι μοι; *Eupolis fr.* 220 ἦν οὐκ ἀνέφερα πάπον ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ. *Ar. Eccl.* 962, 990, *Nicet. Eugen.* 4. 245, 268, 6. 528.

⁴ 'this woman, in professions so noble,' Sir R. Jebb: I incline to the other interpretation 'this so-

‘ὦ δύσθεον μίσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατὴρ τέθνηκεν;’ κτέ.

771 δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλοῦτῳ παράσημον αἶνω. The best illustration is Plat. *Legg.* 870.—When Bacchylides ix. 49 says οἶδα καὶ πλοῦτον μεγάλην δύνανσιν ἃ καὶ τὸν ἀρχεῖον τίθησι χρηστὸν—τί μακρὰν γλώσσαν ἰθύσας ἐλαύνω ἐκτὸς ὁδοῦ; I suppose that a passage on the poem of Solon (*fr.* 13) part of which (*v.* 33 sqq.) he has been paraphrasing for his young Athenian. The examples of παντοῖοι ἔρωτες became a commonplace; see Hor. *C.* i. 1. 3 sqq. with Orelli-Hirschfelder’s note on *v.* 18.

784 καὶ ξυγκαίρονσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βαζόμενοι

ὅστις δ’ ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτὸς

The sense of the missing line should be *laborum tenus rident*, as I showed in *C.R.* 1900 p. 116; add Heliod. ii. 19 πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἐμεδιάσαν ὀλίγον καὶ βεβιασμένον καὶ μόνους τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπιτρέχον. But it is the eye that shows the truth; with the physiognomists it was the eyes that gave the most important signs: *Script. Physiogn.* I p. 305 Foerster τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων καὶ τὰ σύνολα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐνίδρυται καὶ ὥσπερ διὰ πνυλῶν τούτων ἡ ψυχὴ διαφαίνεται. *ib.* II 17, 409. Leon. *Thr.* A.P. vii. 661 φνσιγνώμων ὁ σοφιστής, δεινὸς ἀπ’ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ τὸ νόημα μαθεῖν. Aesch. *fr.* 242, 243.¹ Ach. *Tat.* i. 7. Eur. *Med.* 215 (a passage aimed against the physiognomists) οἶδα γὰρ πολλοὺς βροτῶν ‘σεμνοὺς’ γεγῶτας, τοῖς μὲν ὀμμάτων ἀπο... And this is what Clytemnestra alludes to when she says 283 εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σου κατηγορεῖ,—for κατηγορεῖν belongs to the physiognomical vocabulary (see Foerster’s Index II p. 394–5): it must have been used by old Ionic writers on the subject and retained as technical; hence it appears in other writers often when they speak of what is indicated by such outward signs; e.g. Eur. *fr.* 690, Philostr. *Imag.* 26...ὠκύτητα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ κυνός, *Vit. Soph.* i. 17...πειθῶ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός. (II p. 19 and p. 380 Kayser), *Heroic.* p. 303 = 698, Aelian *N.A.*

called noble lady,’ as in Eur. *El.* 326 Aegisthus is to Electra τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὁ κλεινός, ὡς λέγουσιν. *Orest.* 17 ὁ κλεινός, εἰ δὴ κλεινός, ‘*Agamémnon*’.

¹ Ending ἔχων δὲ τούτων θυμὸν ἱππογνώμονα: this, as I learn from Burton, is the regular metaphor in Arabic; *firāsah*, their word for physiognomy, means properly ‘skill in judging the points of a mare (faras),’ an eye for horseflesh. The metaphor in Greek was derived, I suppose, from a common Oriental source.

i. 5, Heliod. iii. 5, Plut. *Mor.* 695 D, Schol. *Theb.* 109: there are also some examples in the Dictionaries which should be classed under this head.

800 ἐν ὀφικοῖσι δ’ ὄμμασιν βλαβὰς ἔχω
τὰς ἀμφὶ σοὶ κλαίοντα λαμπτηροχίας
ἀτμηλγούς αἰέν.

Clytemnestra feigns what Imogen says honestly, ‘*To lie in watch there, and to think on him? To weep ’twixt clock and clock? if sleep charge nature, To break it with a fearful dream of him, and cry myself awake?*’ Night after night, she means, the lantern has been burning in her chamber, but he, like a faithless lover, never yet regarded it: A.P. v. 191 ἀρὰ γε τὴν φιλάστων ἐτ’ ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσω ἄγρυπνον λύχνῳ πόλλ’ ἀποδομένην (*v.l.* ἀποδομένην: ἀποκλειομένην Huschke, ἀποδουμένην Jacobs); *ib.* 279, 263, 150, Plut. *Mor.* 759 E Λαῖς τις ἡ Γναθαῖνον ‘ἐφέσπερον δαίοντα λαμπτήρος σέλας’ ἐκδεχομένη. But it has been burning really because there was the μοιχὸς ἔδον as in Heliod. i. 12, for the lamp was always witness, A.P. v. 4–8, Lucian i. 648; and if the least gnat’s whining woke her in alarm, it was alarm about Aegisthus: that is why to Agamemnon she repeats the ἀμφὶ σοὶ, 801, 804.

887 λέγομ’ ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,
σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλὴς στῆγης
στύλον ποδῆρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ
καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ’ ἐλπίδα.

891 [κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χεῖματος,
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος,
τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.]
ταιοῖσδε τοῖ νιν ἀζῶ προσφθέγμασιν.

All the phrases in 887–890 are examples of a hope or stay, ἐλπίς or ἄγκυρα: but critics since Blomfield have been offended by the καὶ in 890; and rightly, on their view of the construction: some therefore would read γαῖαν for καὶ γῆν, while others take the καὶ to begin a new series of comparisons. But it has been recognised that the following lines have a different construction; κάλλιστον means κάλλιστόν ἐστι, just as τερπνόν in 893 means τερπνόν ἐστι (cf. Theognis 255, Soph. *fr.* 329) and on the ground that they are not προσφθέγματα endeavours have been made to shift 891–3 to other places. I think myself that they were merely a marginal quotation to illustrate 890. Yet καὶ γῆν I am sure is sound, for what Aeschylus meant is μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδα φανὲν καὶ ναυτίλοις γῆν παρ’ ἐλπίδα φανείσαν: and a passage of Pindar will show this, where his late-appearing ode

is compared to a child vouchsafed to a father (φανείς, as the scholia rightly take it) late in life: *O. x.* 86 τὰ παρ' εὐκλεί Δίρκα χρόνῳ μὲν φάνεν, ἀλλ' ὅτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ ποθεινὸς ἵκοντι νεύτατος τὸ πάλιν ἦδη. Liban. iv. 651. 10 πόσους ἐπιδείξω σοι τῶν πολιτῶν γυναῖκας μὲν αὐτῶν ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν πατέρας δ' οὐ κεκλημένους, ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἔσχατον ἦδη γήρως ἥκοντας καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πράγματος προσαφρημένους; ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν σοὶ ταῦτα πείθωμαι, γύναιον δὲ ἔνδον ἢ παῖδες δὲ μηδαμῇ φαίνωνται, . . . Hom. *h. Dem.* 219 παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄε λπτον ὥπασαν ἀθάνατοι.

944 ἔκῳν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλῷ χρῆται ζυγῷ,
αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξάιρετον
ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δῶρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.

This is commonly mistranslated (with a full-stop at 944) 'This maid, presented to me by the army, the chosen flower from rich spoils, accompanies me home.' The meaning is,

None wears the slave's yoke of his will, and she

Comes by the army's tribute in my train
As rarest blossom out of all our spoil.

She therefore, as a delicate princess, will feel it the most keenly. This formula πάντες (or οὐδεὶς) . . . αὕτη δὲ is extremely common. The predicate comes first in Greek, and the stress here is on πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξάιρετον ἄνθος.

1444 ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὔτως ἡ δὲ τει κίνου δικήν
τὸν ἴστατον μέλυσσα θανάσιμον γόνυ
κείται, φιλήτωρ τοῖδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,
εἰνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδὴν.

But the pair
Have got their merits:—his condition, thus;
While she, after her swan's last dying wail,

This lover of his, lies there; to me, this light

Addition to my bed, this trivial toy,
Only bath afforded sweet,—the sweet of triumph.

as in Eur. *Phoen.* 1402 Eteocles διῆκε λόγῳ χην through his brother κάπῃδωκεν ἡδονὰς Κάδμου πολίταις.—I do not know how to convey more briefly the full significance of εἰνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, which, as I explained in *C.R.* 1900, p. 117, is a description of Cassandra; it means 'a trivial extra morsel': Pollux 10. 87 τὰς δὲ παροψίδας . . . ἐπὶ μάλῃς ἢ ζωμοῦ τινὸς ἡ ἐδέσματος εὐτελοῦς, ὃ ἔστι παροψήσασθαι. 6. 56 παροψίδα·

ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ζωμοῦ τι εἶδος ἢ ὡς τινὲς μάλῃς, ἢ παρενθήκη τις ὄψου, ὃ οἱ νῦν ἂν εἰποιεν παροψημάτιον. The metaphor was common in the sense of a πάρεργον: Sotades (*Ath.* 368 a) παροψὶς εἶναι φαίνομαι τῷ Κρωβύλῳ· τοῦτον μασάται, παρακατεσθίει δ' ἐμέ. Magnēs (*ib.* 367 f) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροψίδες. Ar. *Δαιδ.* πάσαις γυναιξίν . . . ὥσπερ παροψὶς μοιχὸς ἐσκενασμένος. Philostr. *Heroic.* 284 = 662 φυνεύω δὲ αὐτὰ (these other fruits) οἷον παροψημάτα τῶν ἀμπελίων. Clem. Alex. 695 καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐφάπτεται φιλοσοφίας οἷα τρωγάλιον τι ἐπὶ τῷ δείπῳ παροψώμενος. Himerius *Or.* xiv. 24 τοὺς δὲ Πύρρῳ τρόπους καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν ἔριν οὐχ ὡς μεγαλοποῦδα σμα οἷον δέ τι παροψήματα τῆς ἀλλῆς φιλοσοφίας μετέρχεται.

CHOEOPHOROE.

687 οἱ ἐγὼ κατ' ἄκρας νηλεῶς πορθοῦμεθα.
ὦ δυσπάλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἀρά
ὡς πόλλ' ἐπωπῆς κάκποδὸν εὔ κείμενα
τόξοις πρόσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρομένη
φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν.
καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης—ἦν γὰρ εὐβοῖλως ἔχειν
ἔξω νομίζων ἀλεθρίον τηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ' ἥπερ ἦν δόμοισι βακχίας κακῆς
ιατρός ἐλπίς, ἦν παρούσαν ἐγγράφειν.

In *v.* 687 I have given M. Schmidt's νηλεῶς and Mr. Tucker's reading in *vv.* 692–3; but neither of those matters affects the questions I am going to discuss,—who is the speaker, and what is the true version of the last two lines. The MS. gives νῦν δῆπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχίας καλῆς (δ' ἥπερ Turnebus, ἦν Weil, κακῆς Portus) ιατρός ἐλπίς ἦν παρούσαν ἐγγράφειν I write ἐγγράφειν and render it 'And now Orestes—for he was imagining that with judgment he was keeping his foot out of the miry clay—now, that Hope the House had, which should cure the accursed riot in it, might have been entered in the roll as 'present'! So near it was to being realised, the Arrival of Orestes, the sole Hope of the House (for by this time he is of an age to act); yet though so warily situated out of the way (ἐκποδὼν εὐ κείμενος) until his time should come, he too has been brought low by the Curse and I, ἡ παναθλία, am left stripped of friends just when that Hope was on the very verge of being present. Such is the feigned outburst, as I understand it, of Electra, an avowal wrung from her, seemingly, in uncontrollable grief, when all is hopeless; she and the audience meanwhile knowing well that the Hope might be set down as present in all truth.

παρούσαν ἐγγράφειν is of course a metaphor from such a muster-roll as in Soph.

'Αχαιῶν Σύλλογος, *fr.* 144 γραμμάτων πτυχὰς ἔχων νέμ' εἰ τις οὐ πάρεστι τίς ξυνώμοσεν : developed here out of the phrase ἐλπίς παρούσα meaning a hope realised or nearly realised : when they are far from realisation they are μακραὶ ἐλπίδες,¹ as in *Trag. fr. adesp.* 127, 8 Death comes μακρὰς ἀφαιρούμενος ἐλπίδας, *Thuc.* iii. 39, 3 οὔτε ἡ παρούσα εὐδαμονία παρῆσεν ὄκνον² μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινὰ, γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως. *Tac. Ann.* xiii. 37 *si omīssa spe longinqua et sera praesentem et potīorem sequeretur.* An excellent example is the passage quoted by Prof. Robinson Ellis in *Hermathena* 1900, p. 7 from *Dion Cass.* xxix, 53 ἐμφανῆ τε γὰρ τὰ πρὶν ἀγνωστα καὶ ἐπιβατὰ τὰ πρὶν ἀήκοντα ὁρῶντες σφίσι γεγονότα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα ὡς καὶ παρούσαν ἔργῳ ἐλάμβανον, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα καταπράξεν προσεδέχοντο ὡς καὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ἡγάλλοντο.

παρούσαν therefore should be sound, meaning παρούσαν τὴν ἐλπίδα : and if the words δόμοις βακχείας ἱατρός ἐλπίς παρούσα do not mean *Orestes*, it is very strange. The great Hope in this story is the Hope for the House cherished by Electra and her humble friends of overthrowing the usurpers, a hope embodied in the single person of *Orestes* : *Cho.* 234 ὁ φίλτατον μέλημα δώμασιν πατρός, δακρυτὸς ἐλπίς σπέρματος σωτηρίου, ἀλκῇ πεποῖθως δώμ' ἀνακτῆσιν πατρός. 772 ΤΡΟΦΟΣ καὶ πῶς ; 'Ορέστης ἐλπίς οἴχεται δόμων. *XO.* οὐπω κακὸς γε μάντις ἂν γνοίῃ τάδε³ *Soph.* *El.* 305 *HA.* μέλλων γὰρ αἰεὶ δρᾶν τι τὰς οὔσας τέ μου καὶ τὰς ἀποούσας ἐλπίδας διεσφόρει. 805 ὁ τάλαν' ἐγὼ 'Ορέστα φίλταθ', ὡς μ' ἀπόλεσας θανόν' ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς οἴχει φρενὸς αἶμοι μὲν ἀπαρήσαν ἐλπίδων ἔτι. 832 εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς Αἶδαν ἐλπίδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένης μάλλον ἐπεμβάσει. 855 μὴ μέ νιν μηκέτι παραγάγῃς ἢν' οὐ πάρεισιν ἐλπίδων ἔτι κοινοτόκων εὐπατριδᾶν ἀρωγαί. 952 εἶχον ἐλπίδας φόνον ποτ' αὐτὸν πράκτορ' ἔζεσθαι πατρός. 1127, 1149–1159. *Aegisthus* in 1460 : ὡς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐλπίσιν κεναῖς πάρος ἐξήρητ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε, ... *Eur. El.* 352, 607.

παρούσαν, again, should refer to the

¹ And 'nearer' as they come nearer to fulfilment, *Plut. Mor.* 85 E. ἡ δ' ἐλπίς ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τέλους βαδίζουσα, *Eur. H.F.* 763 δοκημάτων ἐκτὸς ἦλθεν ἐλπίς 'has arrived', *Or.* 851 οἶμοι, προσῆλθεν ἐλπίς ἦν φοβουμένη . . . , whereas in *Ag.* 808 ἐλπίς προσήει merely, without practical fulfilment.

² This is the meaning of *oknos* in *Ag.* 996, synonymous with εὐλάβεια and the opposite of ἐλπίς or θράσος. 'Let Caution then bring concern for the lading overboard from the sling ('derrick') of due Measure'.

³ If punctuated as one clause, this would surely be οὐπω καλὸς γε μάντις ἂν γνοίῃ τάδε ?

presence of *Orestes* ; for what makes all the difference to *Electra* is whether *Orestes* is absent or present, ἀπὼν or παρὼν, and these words are applied to him repeatedly : *Cho.* 8, 1012 (218 δδ' εἰμὶ), *Soph. El.* 3, 878, 882, 1236, *Eur. El.* 243, 262, 331, 392, 564. In *Aeschylus* and *Sophocles* the note is struck at once, παρὼν : and *Euripides* emphasises the obvious point of *Orestes* being really present while *Electra* supposes him still absent.

When the champion does arrive, it is to be Avenger and Deliverer of the House⁴ : *Cho.* 160 ἀναλὺτῃρ δόμων, *Eur. El.* 135 *HA.* ἔλθοις τῶνδε πόνων ἐμοὶ τᾷ μελέῃ λυτῇρ : and in this heroic enterprise (θείος Ὀρέστης *Cho.* 866) he is compared to *Perseus* in *Cho.* 829, *Eur. El.* 460,⁵ 854, and to *Heracles* in *Cho.* 159–163, both of them being types of the Purger and Just Slayer : *Olympiod.* on *Plat. Alcib.* p. 156 *Creuzer* : ἐκάτερος μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ καθάρσει τῶν κακῶν γέγονε, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ 'Ηρακλῆς' διὸ φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πείσανδρος 'δικαιοτάτων δὲ φονῆς.' ἐπὶ γὰρ καθαρότητα φόνους ἐποίη. Nor does *Sophocles* omit this touch : *El.* 69 *OP.* σὺ τ' ὦ πατρῶν δῶμα' σοὶ γὰρ ἔρχομαι δίκη καθαρτῆς πρὸς θεῶν ὠρμημένος. The murderous usurpers are conceived by *Aeschylus* as a foul corruption or disease within the House ; with that idea he uses medical language in 469–472, 955, 964, and with the same idea, I think, *ἱατρός* here.

βακχείας κακῆς⁶ must, from the order of the words, be governed by ἱατρός : and could any phrase more naturally describe the conduct of these same usurpers, which *Orestes* was to stop ? Till then, they flaunt and riot in the wealth of *Agamemnon* : see *Electra's* description of the state of things in 132 sqq. ending οἱ δ' ὑπερκόπως ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνουσιν

⁴ Something to this effect might well have been said by *Orestes* at the beginning of the *Choephores*, after *v.* 3 for instance.

⁵ This is the object of the whole chorus which has been supposed irrelevant ; it is a remoter variation on the theme.—The comparison to *Perseus* is particularly appropriate ; that much-honoured Argive hero was got out of the way by *Polydectes* just as *Orestes* by *Aegisthus* ; sped by *Hermes*, slew *Medusa* ; was then pursued by the winged Gorgons (cf. *Eum.* 48) ; and eventually slew the murderer and usurper *Proetus* and recovered the Kingdom of *Argos*.

⁶ Some would have κακῆς of the MS. to mean κακῆς by an irony ; but the genitive was taken to depend not on ἱατρός but on ἐλπίς : *schol.* ποῖος 'Ορέστης ; ἡ τοῖς οἴκοις ἱατρικὴ ἐλπίς τῆς ἀγαθῆς εὐφροσύνης : this view would naturally lead to writing καλῆς. The genitive must depend on ἱατρός, as in *Aesch. fr.* 255, *Pind. N.* 4. 2, *Eur. El.* 69, and βακχείας seems to want a definite qualification. She might have said 'Αἰδοῦ βακχείας, as *Cassandra* in *Agam.* 1234 calls *Clytemnestra* θούσαν 'Αἰδοῦ μητέρα, which is rightly explained by *Conington*.

χλίωνσιν μέγα. ἐλθεῖν δ' Ὀρέστην δεῦρο σὺν τύχῃ τινὶ κατεύχομαι σοι : and when Orestes is victorious the Chorus sing ἐπολούζατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων ἀναφνγὰ κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβὰς ὑπαὶ δνοῖν μιστῶροι. By Sophocles this is developed much more fully in Electra's speeches ; 254 sqq. ending ἐγὼ δ' Ὀρέστην τῶνδε προσμένονσ' αἰεὶ παυστῆρ' ἐφήξειν ἢ τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι. 1149 H.A. (imagining Orestes dead) νῦν δ' ἐκλείοιτε ταῦτ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θανόντι σὺν σοί. πάντα γὰρ συναρπάσας θύελλ' ὅπως βέβηκας. οἶχεται πατήρ· τέθνηκ' ἐγὼ σοί· φροῦδος αὐτὸς εἰ θανόν· γελῶσι δ' ἐχθροί· μαίνεται δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ, ἧς ἐμοὶ σὺ πολλὰκις φήμας λάθρα προὔπεμπες ὡς φανομένους τιμωρὸς αὐτός. ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὁ δυστυχὴς δαίμων [corresponding to the Ἄρα of Cho. 688] ὁ σὸς τε κἀμὸς ἐξαφείλετο. 794 Clytemnestra taunts her with this hope : H.A. ὑβρίζει· νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχάνεις [*Ayam.* 1669, Cho. 56]. ΚΑΥΤ. οὐκὼν Ὀρέστης καὶ σὺ πάντεσσιν τάδε ; and Orestes says 1290 *you need not teach me* ὡς πατρώαν κτήσιν Αἰγισθος δόμων ἀντλεί, τὰ δ' ἐκχεί, τὰ δὲ διασπείρει μάτην· *but show me where* γελῶντας ἐχθροὺς παύσομεν. In Eur. *El.* 326 Electra, in describing the behaviour of the couple, mentions of Aegisthus : μέθη δὲ βρεχθεὶς τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πόσις ὁ κλεινός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐνθρόωσκει τάφω πέτροις τε λείει μνήμα λαῖνον πατρός, καὶ τοῦτο τολμᾷ τοῦπος εἰς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· πού παῖς Ὀρέστης ; ἀρά σοι τύμβω καλῶς παρὼν ἀμύνει ; ταῦτ' ἀπὼν ὑβρίζεται. Such conduct surely might be called βακχεῖα κακῇ, the insolent riot which the presence of Orestes was to cure : and cure of it successfully effected would mean for his sympathisers restoration of a sane and sober rule, τὰ σῶφρονα Cho. 782 ; for the two words are opposed, as in *Bacch.* 933 ὅταν παρὰ λόγον σῶφρονας βάκχας ἴδῃς.

ἄγκυρα is a synonym of ἐλπίς, and I take Electra's meaning here to be like that of Helen in Eur. *Hel.* 276 ἄγκυρα δ' ἡ μοι τὰς τύχας ὥχει μόνῃ, πόσιν ποθ' ἤξειν καὶ μ' ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν, οὗτος τέθνηκεν, οὗτος οὐκέτ' ἐστὶ δῆ. *Heliod.* v. 19 Χαρίκλεια μοι βίος ἦν, ἐλπίς καὶ διαδοχὴ τοῦ γένους· Χαρίκλεια μόνῃ παραψύχῃ καὶ, ὡς εἰπέν, ἄγκυρα. καὶ ταύτην ἐπετέμετο καὶ παρήνεγκεν ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ εἰληχὸς με δαυμόνον. This part of my argument I will conclude with two more of Electra's sayings to this effect in Sophocles : 845 *yes, I know that in the case you speak of* ἐφώνη μελέτωρ· ἐμοὶ δ' οὐτις ἐτ' εἶσθ' ὅς γὰρ ἐτ' ἦν, φροῦδος ἀναρπασθεὶς. 1196 O.P. *How does your mother ill-treat you?* H.A. καὶ χερσὶ καὶ λύμαισι καὶ πᾶσιν κακοῖς. O.P. οὐδ' οὐπαρῆζων οὐδ' ὁ κωλύων πάρα ;

H.A. οὐ δῆθ' ὅς ἦν γάρ μοι σὺ προὔδωκας σποδόν.

Thus the phrasing of these two concluding lines, Cho. 694-5 is of itself, to my mind, overwhelmingly in favour of their being spoken by Electra. The other arguments have been advanced before, and are stated best by Davies ; but since most recent editors, and all now living with the exception of M. Weil (ed. 1884) assign the speech (with various explanations of the last two lines) to Clytemnestra, it is not superfluous to repeat and reinforce them.

There is of course no question that the following speech 703-14 is Clytemnestra's : she says there

ἀγ' αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνδρῶνας εἰξένους δόμων ὀπισθόπους τε τοῦσδε καὶ ξινεμπόρους.¹ κἀκεῖ κυρούντων σώμασιν τὰ πρόσφορα· αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ὑπεθνήψω τάδε. ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς κρατοῦσι δωματῶν κοινώσομεν τε κοῦ σπανίζοντες φίλων βουλευσόμεθα τῇσδε συμφορᾷς περὶ.

In this there are two remarks which she goes out of her way to make, and which cannot be without significance : αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν ὡς ὑπεθνήψω τάδε 'and I advise you to perform this, as you shall answer for it' ; a strange thing surely for a queen to enforce a simple order to a slave with such a menace ! To say the least, what reason could she have for anticipating that a slave might be unwilling to execute so harmless a command, to show a stranger hospitality ? And then she says, of course with meaning, ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . οὐ σπανίζοντες φίλων : she is still in the presence of the strangers who have just heard her exclaim (according to the view I am opposing) ὁ δυστάλαιστε Ἄρα, φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναβλίαν : how can that be reconciled with 'we have friends in plenty' ? Everything is intelligible if you suppose that she is not addressing a mere slave at all, but Electra : it was an established detail in the story, and constantly appears in all the dramatists, that Electra was treated like a slave ; and so I think with Davies she is treated here² : 'the words seem to be addressed' he says 'to some person of position', and in αἰνῶ δὲ πράσσειν κτέ. 'there is a touch of severity which looks very much like bringing Electra to order for her burst of lament-

¹ May not the plural be merely complimentary, politely referring to Pylades as though he were 'a retinue' ?

² Anciently the daughter of the house might even give the stranger his bath (see *Ath.* 10 e), but in Tragedy such offices are assigned to slaves : Eur. *Alc.* 563, *El.* 360.

ation'. Surely; and surely also 'we are by no means stripped of friends and sympathisers' is another reminder to Electra, a sneering retort to her φίλων ἀποψιλοῖς με τὴν παναθλίαν,—where I agree again with Davies that τὴν παναθλίαν could not have been spoken by Clytemnestra. It is Electra whom the death of Orestes leaves μόνη, utterly forsaken, Soph. *El.* 813, 950, 1074.

In the *Electra* of Sophocles there is hardly any touch which in one form or another is not already to be found in Aeschylus. Some points he makes less prominent and others more, and puts them often in a different form or place¹; but in one way or another almost every touch is duly followed. And in saying this I do not mean the least disparagement of Sophocles; his own countrymen would certainly have thought it no disparagement, because their attitude towards artistic work in literature was the same as their attitude towards artistic work in other fields; their aim, speaking generally, was not to be original, but to attain, as in the Zeus of Phidias, the most proportioned and complete expression of a type. Look now at the corresponding scene in Sophocles (where Electra is not feigning but honestly believes Orestes to be dead): *El.* 673 ΠΑΙΔ. τέθηκ' Ὀρέστης ἐν βραχεὶ συνθείς λέγω. ΗΛ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαιν', ὅλωλα τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. ΚΑ. τί φῆς, τί φῆς, ὦ ξεῖνε; μὴ ταύτης κλύε. ΠΑ. θανόντ' Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι λέγω. ΗΛ. ἀπωλόμην δόστηνος· οὐδὲν εἰμ' ἐτι. ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν τὰ σάντης πρῶσσι; ἐμοὶ δὲ σύ, ξεῖνε, τάλῃθες εἰπέ, τῷ τρόπῳ διόλλυται; Then follows the circumstantial account. Each time you see that it is Electra who speaks first, exclaims in genuine sorrow; but no such exclamation in the whole scene comes from Clytemnestra. After the narration she uses the same language to the messenger as in the *Choephoros* and frankly confesses her relief at being rid of the danger menaced by Electra of Orestes' coming back, avows her satisfaction

¹ One of the main ideas that run through the *Choephoros* is the change from Darkness to Light; παρά τε φῶς ἰδεῖν 'The night is departing' is the burden of the final chorus. Sophocles has used this in a different way: in the opening scene of the *Electra* the παιδαγωγὸς points out that it is morning and the black night has departed; and the audience, familiar with the play of Aeschylus, would perceive that morning symbolized the arrival of Orestes under the guidance of Apollo.—The sudden change from darkness to light, symbolizing spiritual 'light,' ἀγῆ, φέγγος, and the light of Heaven, was what was shown to the initiated in the Mysteries; it was preceded by ὀφελὴ and πρόμος, see e.g. Themistius in Stob. *Flor.* 120, 28. I cannot help thinking that this would be suggested to the audience by the language of *Cho.* 448-63 and perhaps 959 sqq.

(793), and taunts Electra (795) with the removal of that menace; and her final words are τήνδ' ἑ' ἔκτοθεν βοᾶν ἔα τὰ θ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων κακά. And yet the Aeschylean critics argue that 'it would be in the last degree unnatural for her to be silent on the death of her son' (Sidgwick). Why, of course it is unnatural, because she is an unnatural mother; that is what is indicated in the brief broad touch of Aeschylus and emphasised by Sophocles, who makes Electra ask (804) ἀρ' ὑμῖν ὡς ἀλγοῦσα κώδυνωμένη δεινῶς δακρῦσαι κάπνικώκισαι δοκεῖ τὸν νῖον ἢ δόστηνος ὧδ' ὀλωλότα;

The next argument is that 'Electra had been told by her brother to go in and look after her part of the plot within (552, 577); and it would be quite out of place for her now to come out.' To this Davies answers: 'Electra is here doing what was enjoined at v. 577; she lends her aid to promote the success of the plot within. Her action did not naturally terminate at v. 582; it is necessary that we should see whether or not her professions are mere words; for the same rule which applies to the story of a play, that it should begin, unfold itself, and conclude naturally, applies also to the action of each of the three players. Anything which she may be supposed to have done within is no part of her dramatic action unless related afterwards.' And so the Chorus are shown acting upon their instructions (579) in v. 762 sqq., and so Aegisthus' opening words in 837 inform us that the Nurse has played her part. The remaining argument he meets by saying 'No degree of objection whatever can be urged from the employment of three actors.' At any rate it will be time enough to deal with the vague scruples felt upon that point when any reasons are produced to warrant them. Meantime I shall believe with Klausen 'possunt hi versus a nemine dici nisi ab Electra.'

926 πατὴρ γὰρ αἶσα τόνδε σοι ὀρίζει μόνον ἄς Heliod. ix. 21 τίνα σάντῳ τιμωρίαν ὀρίζεις; Dem. 1291, 11 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἄλλ' αὐτὸς σὺ σάντῳ ὤρισας. Contracted, this would be σωρίζει or σωιρίζει, as ὀρνιθοκλέπται in Herodas vi. 102 for οἱ ὀρνιθοκλέπται. In the same way οἱ seems to have contracted into οἰ: Eur. *Cycl.* 555 ΚΥ. ὠνοχόος (Canter for ὦ οἰνοχόος) ἀδικος. ΣΙΑ. οὐ μὰ Δι' ἄλλ' ὠνος (ὠνος L) γλυκύς:—though Mr. Murray prefers to read ὠνος and ὠνοχόος as exclamations. In Ath. 426 f quoting Hermippus (I 230 Kock) the MSS. write without contraction εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦθ' ὁ οἶνος ὠκαιρασγενον. In Herodas iv. 73 we

have οὐδ' ἐρεῖς 'οὗτος ἄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν ἐν δ' ἀπηνήθη,' ἀλλ' αἱ ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο, καὶ θέων¹ ψαύειν ἡπείγετο 'this was not a man that

¹ Liban. IV 727 ἀνέστρεφον οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ὁμοίως ἐπειγόμενοι. Here καὶ θέων is merely a synonym of the phrase καὶ ἐπιδραμών, Dem. 831. 10 καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτῶν κύριον, Ael. V.H. 3. 17 τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ ἀρπάζειν ἐπιδραμών, Hdt. 3. 135, Plat. Legg. 799 c.

liked one subject and disliked another; whatever was suggested to his mind he was ready and eager to essay off-hand.' Since ψαύειν governs a dative in Babrius 87. 3, we might take ᾧ to be governed by ψαύειν understood, but it seems as likely to be a crasis for ὃ οἱ 'to him.'

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ARISTOPHANES, KNIGHTS 414.

A NEGLECTED IDIOM.

MR. RICHARDS hardly makes enough of his tempting conjecture that ἐκτραφεῖν has replaced ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν, for he omits to notice a nice point of significance introduced thereby.

ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι σ' οἶμαι τούτοις, ἣ μάτην γ' ἂν ἀπομαγδαλίας σιτούμενος τοσούτος ἐκτραφεῖς ἦν.

'I shall beat you I think on your own ground. Otherwise I should be none the better for *actually* growing as big as yourself (see Neil 842) on hunks of discarded bread.' There is another instance of the idiom at l. 854 εἰς ἐν ἔστι συγκεχυτός: 'is *positively* in conspiracy': and a third at Pl. 867 ἔστιν ἐξολωλεκός:—'has *actually* ruined.' In Ach. 434 those who take εἰ as from εἶναι ought not to have been scouted as they have been. The line must remain ambiguous; but there is a good deal to be said for εἶναι as against ἰέναι: ἔστηκας; οὐκ εἰ καταπῶν Εὐριπίδην;:—'afraid to go! not *effectually* saturated with Euripides!'

The idiom is not uncommon, and attention to it always improves, sometimes makes, the meaning of a passage. Soph. O.T. 126 δοκοῦντα ταῦτ' ἦν:—'that was *actually* thought.' Ph. 1218 ἐγὼ μὲν ἤδη καὶ

πάλαι νεὸς ὁμοῦ | στείχων ἂν ἦ σοι τῆς ἐμῆς:—'long ere this I should have *actually* been nearing my ship':—Eur. Hec. 579 οὐκ εἰ τι δώσω τῇ περισσ' ἐκκαρδίῳ:—'hast thou indeed nought to give her for her high hardihood?': Antiphon Fr. M. 3 67 ἦν ὁ γρίφος ἐνταῦθα ῥέπων:—'the puzzle *did* indeed mean as much': Alex. Fr. M. 3 427 τά τε κυμβία | ἄρ' ἦν πρόσωπ' ἔχοντα χρυσὰ παρθένων;:—'had they *actually* girls' faces?': Ly. 12 6 ἔλεγον ὡς εἶναι τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι:—'how certain men were *actually* out of humour.' Many of the instances quoted by Mr. Richards when read with their context illustrate the idiom even better than these. There are frequent examples in Plato and the orators, but I shall be afraid of them until I have time to test each by Blass's rhythmical theory. Like rhyme and metre, rhythm ends in slightly modifying syntax.

Long ago (F. G. Syntax 369) I brought this idiom into rank with that of τυγχάνειν, λαμβάνειν, etc., quoting Thuc. 3, 68 and 4, 54. The latter instance is conclusive:—ἦσαν δέ τινες καὶ γενόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ λόγοι:—'some proposals were even *actually* made to Nicias.' No doubt, however, the point had been noted scores of times before.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

NOTE ON DEMOSTHENES, DE PACE, § 11.

οὐδὲ προσποιήσομαι δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γινώσκων καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι' ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω δύο κ.τ.λ.

Having been much troubled some years since by the anomaly of ἂν c. subj. in this

passage, I was interested to find the construction questioned by Mr. H. Richards in the April number of this *Review*. There can be no doubt that the words ought to mean 'the two things which I shall state,' but such a rendering must be pronounced

impossible if the rules of the ordinary grammars are correct (see *e.g.* *Madv.* §§ 126, 127). My present object is to suggest that the use of *ἄν* (κε) c. subj. to express futurity, which is admittedly legitimate in Homer in various types of sentences, has survived occasionally in Attic Greek to an extent which is not generally recognised. The subject has been exhaustively discussed by Prof. W. Gardner Hale in his article on the Anticipatory Subjunctive (*Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* Vol. I pp. 1-92). He deals, however, mainly with Homer and points out that the subjunctive construction is continually giving way to the future indicative (pp. 29, 37, 63, etc.). Nevertheless, to take one of his categories, the dependent question of fact, represented by *Il.* 22. 130 *εἶδομεν, ὅπποτέρω κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ*, we find accurately corresponding in *Thuc.* 4. 118 *ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευσάσθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὃ τι ἂν εἰσὶν ἢ πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου*. This is translated by Arnold 'determine on the manner in which the negotiators from Lacedaemon shall be admitted,' and Mr. Graves would evidently prefer this interpretation but for the grammatical doubt. It may be added that the parallel clause—*πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκας ποιείσθαι τοὺς λόγους, καθ' ὃ τι ἔσται ἢ κατάλυσις τοῦ πολέμου*—makes strongly in favour of the rendering quoted. Similarly in *Eur. frag.* 257 :—

δοκεῖς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξυνετὰ νικήσειν ποτὲ
καὶ τὴν δίκην που μάκρ' ἀπωκίσθαι βροτῶν
ἢ δ' ἐγγύς ἐστιν, οὐχ ὀρωμένη δ' ὄρᾳ
ὄν χρεὶ κολάζειν τ' οἶδεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σὺ
ὅπποταν ἄφνω μολοῦσα διολέσῃ κακούς,

the natural meaning of the last lines is :—

'you don't know *when* Justice *will* suddenly come and destroy the bad.' It is true that by common consent Justice comes 'like a thief in the night' (*σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχουσα μάρπτει τοὺς κακούς, Δίκαι τοι δίκαι χρόνιος ἀλλ' ὁμως ὑποπесоῦς ἔλαθεν*). But here her invisible presence has already been asserted, and the climax requires an allusion rather to the unexpectedness than to the secrecy of punishment. Thus in the end :—*ὄρῳ γὰρ χρόνῳ δίκαν πάντ' ἄγονσαν εἰς φῶς βροτοῖς* (*Eur. fr.* 559). Wecklein's proposal to substitute *εἰς* for *ὅπποταν* (*Philol.* 39, p. 414) is accordingly unnecessary.

Prof. Hale (*l.c.* p. 61 ff.) makes an important distinction in calling attention to

the type of clause which he calls *determinative*, *i.e.* where a relative clause serves exactly to determine a person or thing or a time, which forms part of the main sentence. Under this head would come the passage from *de Pace*, being parallel to Homer's (*Od.* Z 201) :

οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ διεπρὸς βροτῶς οὐδὲ γένηται
ὅς κεν Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν ἐς γαίαν ἵκηται
δημοσιῆτα φέρων.

And I cannot find any essential distinction in *Plat. Apol.* 20 E *καὶ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θορυβήσῃτε, μηδ' ἂν δόξω τι ὑμῖν μέγα λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν ἐρῶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἂν λέγω, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀξιώχρεον ὑμῖν τὸν λέγοντα ἀνοίσω*—'for the word which I will speak is not mine.' (Jowett's translation, with italics added). It should be observed that Socrates has in view a single definite assertion made by the God of Delphi. Determinative, again, surely is *Ar. Thesm.* 5 *ση* :—

EY. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκούειν δαί σε πάνθ' ὅσ' αὐτίκα
ᾄψει παρυστώς.

MN. πῶς λέγεις; αὖτις φράσον

οὐ δαί μ' ἀκούειν;

EY. οὐχ ἂ γ' ἂν με λέλῃς ὁρᾶν.

This should be translated :—'No! not those things which you are going to see.' Confusion, perhaps partly due to the presence of *ἂν*, has been introduced into the text of *Eur. fr.* 421 *κέκτησο δ' ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχῃς ἀνευ ψόγου, καὶ σμικρὰ σφάζον τῇ δίκῃ ξυνοῦς' αἰέ*—'be the true owner of that which thou shalt keep without censure, and cherish little, clinging ever to justice.' The general sense of the first line is fixed by *fr.* 461 *κέρδη τοιαῦτα χρή τινα κτᾶσθαι βροτῶν, ἐφ' οἷσι μέλλει μήποθ' ὕστερον στένειν*. Further, I submit that in *Soph. Ant.* 773 *ἄγων ἔρημος ἐνθ' ἂν ᾗ βροτῶν στίβος | κρύψω πετρώδει ζῶσαν ἐν κατώρυχι* the meaning cannot be 'leading her anyhowwhither, wherever the path shall be deserted,' but is rather 'leading her to a place where the path shall be deserted,' or, in other words, this is not a clause of general assumption but a characterising or descriptive clause (I use Prof. Hale's terminology). It is possible, however, that Creon has a definite spot in view, and if so the clause would be determinative and more closely parallel to the cases we have been discussing. *O.C.* 188 might possibly admit of a similar interpretation, but is beset with other difficulties.

I pass to clauses determining a temporal antecedent, where the same principle applies.

Prof. Hale (p. 65) cites as typical *Il.* xxii. 358 :

φράζεο νῦν μὴ τοι τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένομαι
ἡματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἰσθλὸν ἔόντ' ὀλέσσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσιν

and translates:—‘Take heed now to thyself lest I draw upon thee the wrath of the gods on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo *shall* slay thee for all thy valour at the Scaean gate.’ Now it should be remarked that it is indifferent whether the antecedent is expressed or implied, and this is at once recognised in dealing with the Homeric instances. But in Attic Greek, where the antecedent is implied, the idiom is apt to escape notice. Thus no difficulty seems to be felt in Dem. 28. 21 εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἄλλο τι γνώσεσθε, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, τίνα οἴεσθε αὐτὴν (*my mother*) ψυχὴν ἔξεν ὅταν ἐμὲ μὲν ἴδῃ μὴ μόνον τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστερημένον κ.τ.λ. The speaker is anticipating an unfavourable verdict, and the translation must be:—‘what think you will be her feelings (at the time) when she shall see me...?’ Goodwin (§ 529), in citing the passage, omits εἰ... γένοιτο: with these words added his resolution of ὅταν as ‘if ever’ ceases to be plausible. Soph. *Trach.* 451 ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐκ κείνου μαθὼν | ψεύδει, μάθῃσιν οὐ καλὴν ἐκμανθάνεις: | εἰ δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὥδε παιδεύεις, ὅταν | θέλῃς γενέσθαι χρηστὸς, ὀφθήσῃ κακὸς requires more detailed examination. Deianeira suspects that Lichas is concealing the truth. ‘If you are lying to order,’ she says, ‘you are following a bad trade; but if you are your own instructor’ (implying that his motives may be re-

spectable) ‘at the time when you shall wish to prove merciful, you will be found cruel,’ i.e. the very occasion for which you are schooling yourself will betray you. Hermann however comments:—‘hic quidem ita loquitur ut de quovis honesto mendacio dicat, non de eo, quod nunc dixit Lichas, quia non scit, quae mente is falsa dixerit. Quod si certo sciret, propterea mentitum esse, ne doletet ipsa, dixisset, ἐν ᾧ θέλεις χρηστὸς γενέσθαι.’ And Prof. Jebb follows on the same lines:—‘the form is general, but the reference is to this particular case.’ In fact, counsel has been darkened by the assumption that ὅταν is necessarily indefinite. What possible object could Sophocles have for making Deianeira say ‘you will always fail whenever you try to be of service,’ if she means ‘you will fail in the very service which you hope to render’? It is true that she does not know the purpose of his dissembling, but she has at least a strong suspicion of what he intends and to this alone her remark is directed.

These illustrations, which are not due to any systematic search, might no doubt be multiplied by further enquiry. But it must always be borne in mind that very many sentences, which are determinative in form and should be so classed, are practically indistinguishable from corresponding sentences of general assumption. Thus Homer’s ὃ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται ὃν κεν ἴκωμαι (*Il.* 1. 137) is determinative, but would not differ materially from a generalising ὅτιν' ἂν ἴκωμαι κεχολώσεται.

A. C. PEARSON.

AN EMENDATION IN *LOGIA JESU* III.

The *Poemandres* of Hermes Trismegistus enables us to make a simple and obvious correction in the third Logion. Two passages of the Hermetic writer are apparently paraphrases of the Logion. The first (c. i. § 27 Parthey) runs: ἡργμαι κηρύσσειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως κάλλος. ὦ λαοί, ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς, οἱ μέθη καὶ ἵπνω ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες καὶ τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, νήψατε, παύσασθε κραυπαλῶντες, θελγόμενοι ἵπνω ἀλόγῳ. The second and closer paraphrase (c. vii. § 1) is as follows: ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ ἄνθρωποι μεθύοντες, τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον οἶνον ἐκπίοντες ὃν οὐδὲ φέρον δύνασθε ἄλλ' ἤδη αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμείτε;

στήτε νήψαντες, ἀναβλέψατε τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς. The gnostic author of the *Poemandres*, then, probably had in view the Logion: λέγει Ἰησοῦς, ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὥφθην αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εἶρον διαψώντα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν. ‘I found all becoming drunk,’ μεθύοντας (note the tense), ‘and I found none athirst,’ is a contradiction. Or at least we may say that the Hermetic writer offers a neater contrast: ‘I found none sober.’ Read therefore νήψαντα for διαψώντα.

FRANK GRANGER.

CATULLIANUM.

66, 59 sqq.

*Hi dii veni ibi vario ne solum in lumine
caeli*

Ex Ariadneis aurea temporibus

*Fixa corona foret, sed nos quoque fulgere-
mus*

*Devotae flavi verticis exuviae,
Uvidulam a fletu cedentem ad templa deum
me*

Sidus in antiquis diva novum posuit.

Initium versus undesexagesimi etiam post ea quae et alii et Vahlenus (*Sitzungsberichte Berlin. Akademie* 1888, pag. 1361 sqq.) de loco et de toto carmine docuit, iacet corruptum. Emendationes aliorum iure Vahlenus improbavit; sed etiam quae ab hoc proponitur non magis probata esse videtur. Namque vix verisimile est comam dixisse se ab Arsinoe Ariadneae coronae invidia percita in sideribus positam esse, cum invidus semper malus sit neque aliud facere velit, quam adimere cui invideatur illud, propter quod ei invideatur, aut prohibere ne quic-

quam boni fiat cuiquam, ut in loco Aristophaneo ab ipso Vahleno laudato: *κοῦκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἐκείνους οὐχὶ φθονῶν ἔπαυσας, ἵνα μὴ ῥήτορες γίνοντο* (Equit. 880). Enuntiatur ipsa *suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat, Graia Canopieis incola litoribus* dictum est parenthesis, neque opus est ut poeta dicat, cur ales equos Arsinoes iussu comam sustulerit dominaeque apportaverit. Inde autem a versu unde sexagesimo coma pergit narrare, quid postea factum fuerit, cum ales equos casto Veneris in gremio illam collocasset . . . *vario ne solum in lumine caeli ex Ariadneis temporibus aurea corona fixa foret me sidus in antiquis novum diva posuit.* Si res ita se habet, ut nos iudicamus, in corruptis *Hi dii veni ibi* latent vocabula *Hic AUTEM*:

*Hic AUTEM, vario ne solum in lumine caeli
Ex Ariadneis aurea temporibus
Fixa corona foret, . . . etc.*

THEOPHANES KAKRIDIS.

ATHENIS.

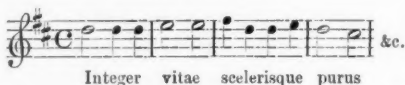
THE LATIN SAPPHIC.

THAT Horace modified the structure of the Greek Sapphic line by introducing a fixed caesura after the fifth syllable and making the fourth syllable long is well known; but why he did so, and what was the precise effect of the change upon the rhythm and delivery of the verse, is a more difficult question.

On this question of the interpretation and significance of the Horatian procedure, the treatise of P. Eickhoff (*Der horazische Doppelbau der sapphischen Strophe*, 1895) threw a flood of light. At the same time it left the question in a position which I cannot regard as entirely satisfactory or final; and it is the object of the present article to carry the discussion a stage further.

Eickhoff's view may be briefly summarized as follows. Side by side with the quantitative structure which he took over from the Greek Sapphic, Horace introduced into his Sapphics an *accentual* structure, which completely altered their rhythmical character and threw their quantitative

structure into the background. Horace, he says, wrote his verses for a new tune or melody, which was composed in 'common time' (whatever may have been the time of the melody for which the Greek Sapphics had been written); and a considerable portion of the treatise is devoted to a discussion of the possible constitution of this Latin tune. The result at which Eickhoff arrives is that it must have been similar in respect of its time and rhythm to the well-known music of Flemming written for *Integer vitae*:



Integer vitae scelerisque purus

To English readers, accustomed from their public school days to read Sapphics according to the rhythm indicated by the ordinary prose accents of the words, this conclusion comes as a welcome and unexpected confirmation of their traditional practice. It seems that an answer to the

vitally important question 'How did Horace mean his verses to be read and delivered?' is here foreshadowed. Apparently to judge by the regularity with which the word-accent falls on the first, the fourth, the sixth (in this place the accent may be only a secondary accent) and the tenth syllables—the poet meant them to be delivered according to the model of

nōn eget Maūris iāculis neque ārcu

(I avoid quoting the first line of the Ode —I 22—because it raises the question how far Horace intended a secondary ictus on the second, the fifth, the eighth and the eleventh syllables; Eickhoff holds that he did:

intēger vītāē scēlerisque pūrū

If so, the third syllable of the word *scelerisque*, which has the principal word-accent, receives at least a secondary ictus in the verse; the principal ictus falling on the syllable which has only a secondary word-accent, if any.)

The difference between the Horatian and the Greek Sapphic may, then, be most simply stated in musical terminology by saying that Horace desired (for some reason or other) to give his verses a 4-time movement (γένος ἴσον); whereas the Greek Sapphics had a 3-time movement (trochaic, γένος διπλάσιον):

♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ |
ποικι - λόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρο - δίτα

or ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪ |
ποικι-λόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφρο- δίτα

(The Greek accents are, of course, otiose.

The bar, or half-bar, marked ♩ ♪ is equivalent in time to ♩ ♪).

If the Horatian rhythm is as Eickhoff says, we see at once why he made the fourth syllable long, and put a caesura after the fifth. It was in order to get a syllable having the word-accent in the fourth place.¹ For every Latin word ending in _ must, according to the ordinary law of prose accentuation, be pronounced with an accent on the penultimate. What Horace did with the Greek Sapphic may be illustrated very well

by the second line of the strophe written by the late Lord Tennyson for Sir Richard Jebb's *Primer of Greek Literature*, and given also in his *Memoir*, vol. ii, p. 231. His object was to reproduce in English the movement of the Greek, as distinct from the Latin Sapphic; and his first and third lines reproduce it admirably. In his second line, however, whether deliberately or not, he departed from the Greek model, and put his caesura after the fifth syllable (without, however, lengthening the quantity of the fourth); the effect was to give an Horatian movement to the last part of the line (*promise, and the victim*); had he chosen to put in a word accented like *resplendent* or *majestic* instead of *glorious* in the first part of the line, the transformation would have been complete. The lines run—

Faded év'ry violet, all the rôses;
Gone the glórious p_r_mise, and the v_ictim
Bróken in this ánger of Áphrodíte
Yields to the victor.

But I come now to two points of disagreement with Eickhoff.

(1) He regards the accentual and the quantitative structure of Horace's Sapphics as two *parallel* phenomena, each of which is independent of the other. Hence the title of his treatise (*der Doppelbau*, the double-structure). This dualistic theory of the verse seems to me to be open to criticism. A poet can hardly serve two masters in this way. Not that verse may not be both quantitative and accentual: that is a phenomenon of which we have plenty of isolated examples in Latin as well as English. It is only necessary to quote such familiar instances as—

omnia súnt desérta, osténtant ómnia létum
Catull. 64. 187.

pállida díis invísa supérque immáne bará-
thrum Aen. viii. 245.

quae dígna méntis láus erit árduae,
quae dígna fórmæ láus erit ígneae?

Claudian, Nupt. Hon. Aug. et Mar. 4 f.

ípsa gémmis púrpurántem píngit ánnum
flóribus Pervig. Veneris, 9.

to say nothing of popular verses recited at triumphs, etc. In English we have the converse phenomenon of quantity combined with accent in isolated verses like

Rift thē hills and ról thē wáters, flásh thē
lightnngs, weígh thē sun
Tennyson, Locksley Hall, l. 176.



¹ The reason given by Eickhoff, *Nachtrag* is somewhat different. He thinks the object of Horace was to make the second foot like the fourth.


And rōlling fār along the glōomy shōres
The voice of dāys of old and dāys to bē
Morte d'Arthur.

as well as in deliberate imitations of classical metres such as those of Tennyson and Hawtrey in *English Hexameter Translations*, e.g.

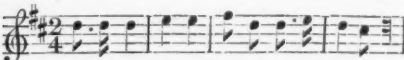
Clēarly the rēst I behōld of the dārک-eyed
sōns of Achaia.

But in all such instances quantity and accent play into one another's hands; both of them are means of bringing out a common basis of rhythm. What we should have to accept in Eickhoff's view is that in the Horatian Sapphic the quantities subserve a 3-time rhythm, and the accents a 4-time rhythm. This could only result in one or other of these rhythms being sacrificed in the actual delivery of the verse; and if so, why should the poet have troubled to attend to them both? To my mind the inference to be drawn from the facts is that both the quantities and the accents were intended to be heard and to produce a joint effect on the ear; and it is, therefore, the business of the metrist to see how they can be reconciled. But reconciled they cannot be if we limit ourselves to the view that a long syllable is always twice as long as a short syllable. And herein I find a new argument for the existence in verse of extra short and extra-long syllables—a doctrine which of late has fallen into disfavour in some influential quarters.¹

I submit the following method of reconciliation; premising that i tead of  in the first and third bar I should be equally well content with  (that is three *morae* accelerated so as to be pronounced in the time of two *morae*):


Persicos odi puer appa - ratus

or (to repeat the melody of the familiar music)—


Integer vitae scelerisque purus

¹ It would be tempting to suppose that Horace shortened the third syllable of his Sapphics according to the law of 'Breves Breviantes': and it is worth noticing that the third syllable never has a principal word-accent. But this hypothesis would require a great deal more evidence to support it than is forthcoming; and I mention it only to reject it.

Here every syllable which Horace makes long has a relatively long note assigned to it (i.e. a note which is longer than that assigned to any syllable which Horace makes short); and every syllable which he makes short has a relatively short note assigned to it. And at the same time the accentual structure of the verse is fully recognised. The conversion from a 3-time to a 4-time rhythm has involved the following changes: (1) the transference of the ictus from the third and fifth syllables to fourth and sixth respectively; (2) the complete alteration of the quantity of the fourth syllable, which in the Horatian form of the verse must be long, whereas in the Greek form it may be (and ought theoretically to be) short; (3) the slight shortening of some syllables—the first, second, eighth, and ninth, and the very slight lengthening of others—the fifth and sixth. How far the latter details were consciously realised by Horace (i.e. show far his lines became *fully* rhythmical according to the scheme which he favoured) must remain a matter of conjecture.

I submitted this theory to Prof. Eickhoff last year,² and was glad to receive from him the following reply (dated Dec. 21, 1902). 'Ihre Rhythmisierung des metrischen sapphischen Verses


integer vitae scelerisque purus

halte ich jetzt, nachdem die Seikilosmelodie veröffentlicht worden ist, welche auch kurze Noten im gutem Taktteil hat, für möglich; sie est dem Horazischen⁴ Rhythmus



sehr ähnlich, nicht ganz so einfach. Mit Recht hat sie nur vier Takte (*four bars*). Aber ich halte sie nicht nur für den römischen metrischen Bau für wahrscheinlich, sondern auch für den griechischen, und halte den $\frac{3}{4}$ Takt hier nicht für nötig.'

(2) The second point in which I venture to express a view differing from that of Eickhoff is in regard to the question whether Horace's Sapphics were an attempt to adapt the Greek metre to new Latin music. Eickhoff holds that they were, and quotes O.

² I see no necessity to call the *i* of *Diana* long in *Carm. Saec.* 70; for this line has the Greek rhythm.

³ The publication of the present article has been delayed through pressure of other work.

⁴ I presume Prof. Eickhoff means the *accentual*.

Jahn's article in *Hermes* 2. 419 in his support (*Doppelbau*, p. 22). This seems to me an unnecessary and indeed impossible theory; unnecessary, because the more words are written for music the less need is there for indicating the bars by the word-accents¹; impossible, because if Horace was writing for music it was music whose time was liable to change in successive lines (unless, indeed, as Eickhoff suggests in his letter, the Greek Sapphic would also go to 4-time music). For instance Horace writes

Mercuri, facūde nepos Atlantis (Greek rhythm),

Qui feros cūltus hōminum recentum (Latin rhythm).

Te canam māgni Iōuis et decorum (Latin rhythm),

Nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem (Greek rhythm).

This free passage from the one rhythm to the other is itself a strong argument that the verses were written for recitation and not for music. In recitation the change of rhythm may have been merely a pleasing variety (as in Tennyson's Sapphic line quoted above); in singing it would have involved either a new tune for every line which departed from the norm, or else great violence to the accentuation of the words (e.g. *Nūntium cūrvaēque lyrae parēntem*). And indeed Eickhoff treats every line in the first three books of the Odes which neglects the 4-time rhythm as a failure on the part of the poet,² and, consistently with this view, he regards the 5-time rhythm which appears in the large majority of the lines of Catullus as due merely to accident. I do not regard the matter in this light. Both rhythms are equally legitimate, and the difference between them, great as it was, was apparently not such as to prevent their being used side by side. Nor ought we to speak of Horace as having on maturer consideration returned to the Greek rhythm in Book IV. and the *Carmen Saeculare*. For if so, how are we to account for the fact that here too the large majority of the lines have the specially Horatian accentuation? Lines like

Laurea donāndus Apollinari (Greek rhythm) though much commoner than in Books I.-III. are still only a minority; and on

¹ The music takes care of its own rhythm.

² All these exceptions are carefully tabulated by him: e.g. I 10. 1, 6, 18; I 12. 1; I 25. 11; I 30. 1; II 16. 26; III 22. 2; III 27. 10.

this principle two thirds of the Sapphic lines of Bk. IV. and the *Carmen Saeculare* must be put down as failures.³ If Horace had come to the conclusion that his earlier accentual system was a mistake, he would surely have been able to modify his practice more successfully.

In illustration of the two types of the Sapphic (the one definitely Latin, though the other is also represented in Latin literature), I will quote a few specimens in English and German. It will be seen that the Latin type is far more widely represented than the Greek, which, however, is clearly the basis of the lines of Swinburne called *Sapphics*: I quote only the first of twenty stanzas (*Poems and Ballads*, i. p. 234); note the accent on the third and fifth syllables:

All the night sleep cáme not upon my eye-
lids,
Shed not déw, nor shóok nor unclosed a
feather,
Yet with líps shut clóse and with eyes of
iron

Stood and beheld me.

Several excellent instances of the Greek rhythm might be quoted from German literature; for example the following reproduction by Geibel of *Φαίveraí μοι κῆνος ἱσος θεοῖσι*

Hóchbeglückt wie sélige Góttér déucht mir,
Wém, dir tief ins Áuge zu scháu'n, und
láuschend

Án dem Wóhllaut déines Gespráchs zu
hángen

Táglich vergónn't ist.

Soo too Platen's *Die Pyramide des Cestius*.

Among the experiments in classical metre introduced by Sir Philip Sidney into his *Arcadia* occur the following lines (Book I. p. 141, of the edition of 1725), which, however disappointing as verse, have a special interest as exhibiting the Greek and the Latin rhythms side by side; Zelmane sings them 'speaking as it were to her own hope':

If mine éyes can speák to do hearty errand,
Or mine eyes' lánguage shé do hap to judge
of,

So that eyes' méssage bé of her received,
Hope, we do live yet.

³ Westphal, J. H. H. Schmidt and Christ are united in regarding the specially Horatian caesura as inexplicable; in fact they practically condemn every verse which has it as defective.

Six other stanzas follow, in some of which we find the same mingling of the Greek and the Latin rhythm, *e.g.*

If the swán's sweet voice be not heard, but
at death,
If the mute timber wén it hath the life
lost, etc.

The following lines by Cowper 'written during a period of insanity' are entirely on the Horatian model; I quote the first stanza only.

Hátred and véngeance, mý eternal pórtion,
Scárce can endúre deláy of execútion;
Wáit with impátient réadiness to seize my
Soúl in a móment.

Perhaps the most familiar example of the Latin rhythm is the parody by Canning, published in the *Anti-Jacobin* (Nov. 27, 1797): the verses which he parodied are also of the same type. The ictus falls on the fourth and the sixth syllables, without exception, though the caesura is sometimes after the fourth syllable:

Néedy knife-grinder! whither are you
góing!
Róugh is the róad, your w héel is out of
órder:
Bléak blows the blást, your hát has got a
hóle in't
Só have your bréeches!

A curious example of the survival of this Horatian type is the metre of the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers' *St. Paul*. This metre has generally been supposed to be an invention of Mr. Myers himself; but it is nothing but the Latin Sapphic, abbreviated in the alternate lines by one syllable. Note the

accents on the first, the fourth and the sixth syllables (p. 19):

Ring with a reckless shivering of laughter
Wroth at the woe which thou hast seen
so long,
Question if any recompense hereafter
Waits to atone the intolerable wrong.

In the following stanzas I insert the ictus marks: the first is normal, the second and third show some characteristic variations, for which there are parallels in other parts of the poem.

Thén in the midnight stúrring in his slúmber
Ópened his vision ón the heights and sáw
Néw without náme or órdinance or númer,
Sét for a márvel, silent for an áwe

Stárs in the fírmament abóve him beáming,¹
Stárs in the fírmament, alive and fréé,¹
Stárs, and of stárs the innúmerable
stréaming,²

Deép in the deéps, a ríver in the seá;—

Thése as he wátched thro' márch of their
arísing,

Mány in múltitudes and óne by óne,¹
Sóme what from Gód with a supérb sur-
prísing¹

Breáthed in his éyes the prómise of the
sún. (p. 47).

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

¹ These lines have the second and third feet inverted: cf. p. 29 'Ay, and when the Prophecy her tale hath finished,' 'Love be imperishable, love be young' (catalectic); p. 26 'Heard not nor pitied her nor made reply' (cat.). This inversion is employed by Klopstock in the second line of every stanza of his 'Selmar und Selma' (Eickhoff, p. 49 f.).

² This line has a dactyl for the spondee of the second foot; so too the fourth line quoted above from p. 19.

ON HORACE, ODES, IV. 8. 13-22.

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae 15
relectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
non incendia Carthagini impiae
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque 20
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

It will be useful to summarise the difficulties of this passage:

- (a) The ode violates Meineke's canon.
- (b) The burning of Carthage happened thirty-seven years after the death of the elder Scipio, and twenty-three years after that of Ennius.
- (c) The genitives Carthagini impiae followed immediately by the genitive ejus make the expression exceedingly awkward, as ejus has no connection with Carthagini.
- (d) Eius is generally agreed to be impossible.
- (e) Calabrae Pierides—'Calabrian Mace-

donians' is a doubtful expression, though defensible. It could hardly have satisfied Horace, especially in the fourth book.

(f) The metre of line 17 is irregular.

The remedies are various, but none suggest any explanation how the verses became corrupted. Some mark a lacuna of two lines to bring the number up to thirty-six. Others omit lines 17 and 28, but l. 28 has nothing against it. Others block out six lines, 16-19, 28, 33. Gow in the *Corpus* gives up the whole ode.

It may be taken as certain that Horace wrote all his odes (not the epodes) in stanzas of four lines each, with perhaps the exception of those early experiments in metre, the fourth, seventh, and twenty-eighth odes of the first book. It mattered nothing whether the metre was naturally in four-line stanzas, as the *Alcaics*, or in couplets, such as Ode I. 3, or in single lines, as in Ode I. 1.

I do not believe that 'Calabrae Pierides' in line 20 is sound. As Page says, 'Although the word *Pierides* had come to mean nothing more than a synonym for "Muses," yet the combination of the two words is hardly happy.' Again, the commentators have not remarked that Horace never ends a sentence in an *Asclepiad* line of this kind two syllables from the end, so as to begin a new sentence with a weakly *pyrrhic*, as in 'laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque,' where the 'neque' sentence is very loosely attached to what precedes. Doubtless writers of Latin verse would feel such a thing to be most undesirable. (Some editions read in IV. 13. 17, 'Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens,' but even so there is really no stop after color.) In the line under discussion it may be urged that there is not really a strong pause after *Pierides*, but there is enough to cause a jar, and this, with the clumsiness of *Calabrae Pierides*, makes me certain that the stop should come after *Calabrae*, and that *Pierides* belongs to the next sentence. I would write:

laudes quam Calabrae: Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

(For 'neque' standing second in a sentence cp. Ode III. 18. 6, and IV. 5. 14, the former being a sufficiently exact parallel.)

It will be seen that on this view *eius* in line 18 must disappear, as *laudes Calabrae* is now nominative to, indicant. In fact, *eius* is due to the mistaken punctuation of line 20. The scribe corrected some accusa-

tive into *eius* to make sense of the passage. *Illum* was probably the original word, and the sentence ran thus:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis

illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae;

'The inscriptions upon statues &c. do not more clearly mark out him who returned after winning a name from conquered Africa, than do Calabrian praises.'

It will be well to point out what other changes I think necessary in the whole passage, and then consider them together. 'Non incendia Carthagini impiae' must go, as most commentators agree, and the other line to be cut out is 'post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae.'

The passage then runs:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis,
reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae
illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae; Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

The words 'post mortem ducibus' I consider to have been a gloss on the 'bonis' of the preceding line. The scribe filled up the line, and filled it very badly, with 'non celeres fugae,' words which violate history, and are not likely to have been written by Horace. He did not wish to belittle the opponent of Africanus, for obvious reasons. The words are, perhaps, a recollection of 'Philippos et celerem fugam.' The other line excised, 'non incendia Carthagini impiae,' has no friends. A reason can be offered for its interpolation. In Hor. Sat. II. 1. 65 is an expression very similar to that in this ode,

'num Laelius et qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine
nomen'—

which refers to the younger Africanus. The interpolator compared these two passages, and made them square with one another by inserting the reference to the burning of Carthage before the line in the ode. He did not see that the word 'meritum' makes all the difference. The younger Africanus 'meruit' the same title for himself, which the elder had won before.

Further, 'qui nomen lucratus rediit' must

refer to the elder Scipio. Horace is recalling, as Peerlkamp pointed out, Scipio's message to the Senate, when they demanded an account of money received by his brother Lucius. 'Cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur, praeter cognomen rettuli.' (Peerlkamp's note quoted by Orelli—Hoc unicum erat Scipionis lucrum; alii alia lucra spectabant.) This, with the reference to Ennius, makes it certain that there can be no allusion to the younger Scipio.

The reference in the first line is now seen to be particular to Scipio, as well as referring generally to Roman heroes. 'Not the statues marked with public inscriptions, by which breath and life return to the good, and the threats of Hannibal flung back in his own face.' Now there must have been at least two statues of Scipio in the Rome of Horace's day. Augustus had erected in his Forum statues of the great generals of the Republic, with laudatory inscriptions (Suet. Aug. 31). There was also a statue of him at the family mausoleum outside the Porta Capena, along with a statue of Ennius. Ovid refers to it in words that seem to show he had this ode in his mind (Ars Am. 3. 409):

Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.
Nunc hederæ sine honore iacent; operata-
que doctis
cura vigil Musis nomen inertis habet.

The 'laudes Calabrae' are the direct praise of a great man by a poet; that is the 'pretium muneris' of line 12. The best commentary on these lines was written by Horace about the same time, Epist. II. 1. 245-7:

At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera, quae multa dantis cum laude
tulerunt
dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetae.

The change from 'Pierides' to 'Pieridum' in line 20 is not great. The phrase

'Pieridum chartae' seems sound enough, and the expression is no more unlikely than one in Pseudo-Tibullus, Pan. Messall. l. 200:

'posse Meleteas nec mallet vincere chartas.'

Chartae does require some adjective, as the whole point is that they must be pages of poetry, not of prose, such as 'Socraticae chartae.' It may be observed that Page seems to have felt the want, for he translates, 'if no poet's page tell of thy great deeds.'

I am inclined to think that by the epithet 'Calabrae' Horace denoted himself as well as Ennius. The point is of little importance. 'Calabrian' was used by the Romans with exceeding vagueness. In fact, so far as that goes, Ennius might just as well have been born at the Rudiae near Canusium. Martial, who knew as much geography as most men, calls Horace Calabrian in three places, V. 30. 2; VIII. 18. 5; XII. 94. 5.

Page remarks that 'In this and the next Ode it is probable that, though Horace addresses Censorinus and Lollius, his words are meant for Augustus. The Poet-Laureate hints pretty broadly to the Emperor that he is well aware of the value of the favour he is bestowing in writing this Book at his request.' This seems true, and it follows that the reference to 'incisa notis marmora publicis' is a graceful compliment to Augustus, who had erected, amongst others, a statue of Scipio.

I will add, as I have not seen it noticed, that Lucius Marcius Censorinus, ancestor of the Censorinus to whom this ode is addressed, was consul B.C. 149, and with Manilius conducted the first campaign of the third Punic war, the younger Scipio then serving as tribune. As the operations were far from successful, Horace would not wish to recall them. But the fact may have suggested the interpolation of 'non incendia Carthaginis impiae.'

ERNEST ENSOR.

A HISTORICAL NOTE ON TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XII. 62¹.

'At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudinem onerum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi a

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society on March 5.

foedere quod nobiscum iecerant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, Persen, Aristonicum, et

piratico bello adiutum Antonium memorabant, quaeque Sullae aut Lucullo aut Pompeio obtulissent, mox recentia in Caesares merita, quando ea loca insiderent, quae transmeantibus terra marique ducibus exercitibusque, simul vehendo commeatu opportuna forent.'

'Beginning with the treaty which they concluded with us when we fought against that king of Macedonia whose supposed spurious birth acquired for him the name of the Pseudo Philip, they reminded us of the forces which they had afterwards sent against Antiochus, Perseus, and Aristonicus, of the aid they had given Antonius in the pirate-war, of their offers to Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompeius, and then of their late services to the Caesars.'

Thus Messrs. Church and Brodribb. Their translation is interesting, for it renders 'posthac' rightly (as I hope to shew), yet in defiance of historical fact, if 'the false Philip' of whom Tacitus speaks is the man commonly so called. These are the wars of Rome with which the chapter is or may be concerned:

The war with Philip V (the second Macedonian war)	B.C. 200—197
The war with Antiochus III	192—190
The war with Perseus (the third Macedonian war)	171—168
The war with Andrisicus, 'the false Philip'	149—148
The war with Aristonicus	131—130
M. Antonius, the orator, in command against the Cilician pirates	102
Sulla in Greece and Asia	87—83
M. Antonius, the son of the orator, in command against the pirates	74
Lucullus in command in Asia	74—66
Pompey in the East	67—62

In all these wars what part did Byzantium play? Before the second century we hear of no connexion between Rome and Byzantium; but in the second Macedonian war their interests were the same. In 201, when Philip V leagued himself with Antiochus to spoil the Egyptians and their friends, he made himself master of Perinthus, which was connected by *συμπολιτεία* with Byzantium; consequently Byzantine ships fought against Philip in the battle off Chios, and Byzantium was naturally on the side of Rome when Rome stepped in. By the terms of peace in 197 Philip was required *ἀποκαταστήσαι Περινθίους εἰς τὴν Βυζαντίων συμπολιτείαν* (Polybius, xvii. 2.4). In later years Philip, and Perseus after him, helped Byzantium to ward off the attacks of Thracian chiefs; but though the kings of Macedon thus neglected the terms of the peace of 197, we hear of no breach between

Rome and Byzantium. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must take Tacitus' word for it that in the war with Antiochus¹ and in the third Macedonian war the Byzantines did service to Rome. For their conduct in the affair of Andrisicus we have positive evidence: they paid honours to the pretender, and incurred the displeasure of Rome thereby. Diodorus xxxii. 15.6: *ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ κατατήσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐτιμήθη· καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἔδωκαν δίκας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ Βυζάντιοι*. Thenceforward Byzantium was faithful to Rome.²

The help which the Byzantines gave to Rome during the first half of the second century, and the punishment (whatever it was) which they suffered for their acknowledgment of Andrisicus, might seem to imply a formal alliance between the two cities. But the passage of Tacitus appears to say that the first treaty was no older than B.C. 149; and looking at Tacitus and Diodorus together one is tempted to infer that the treaty and the punishment were connected, or identical. In any case one followed close upon the other; and if the fault came first, the treaty must have been formed when the Byzantines were in disgrace; if the treaty came first, their fault was so much the worse. Then why did the envoys of Byzantium, seeking a favour from the senate in A.D. 53, begin the narrative of their city's connexion with Rome at the one point where its behaviour towards Rome had been bad? They might have left the affair of Andrisicus out; they might have mentioned it discreetly after the war with Perseus, in its proper place; but they preferred, it seems, to mention it first. Did they begin with the one black episode that the rest might be uniformly white? So we must suppose, unless Tacitus, or the ordinary interpretation of his words, is wrong.

First, it is strange that the Byzantines, and Tacitus, should speak of Andrisicus, as 'king of Macedon.' His claims were never admitted by Rome, or by history. He was king in fact for a short time only; he was not king by right³; he was not king by

¹ See E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 107, n. 6. Mommsen says that 'extensive privileges were granted to the Byzantines,' by Antiochus with a view to his war with Rome (*History of Rome*, Engl. transl., ii. p. 450). I cannot find the evidence for this.

² See Kubitschek's article on *Byzantium* in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1138, where references are given for the events mentioned above.

³ His claim that he was the son of Perseus was

courtesy from any point of view which concerns us here; and no other writer calls him king.¹

Secondly, Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip,' as commonly interpreted², is absurd. Andrius was called 'the false Philip' not because he was 'ultimae sortis homo,'³ but because he posed as a Philip and was not. Had his lineage been of the best, he was still 'the false Philip' since he claimed to be a Philip and his claim was false. The Tichborne claimant was 'ultimae sortis homo,' but he would have been 'the false Tichborne' just the same if he had been a Vere de Vere.

Thirdly, 'posthac' must belong to 'missas,' not to 'memorabant.' In Latin of the republican times 'posthac' has regularly, and possibly always, a continuous sense, 'from this (that) point onwards,' marking not a later event but a permanent result. This is not so in Tacitus. The *Lexicon Taciteum* which has just been completed reveals the curious fact that Tacitus uses the word only in his last work, the *Annals*, where it occurs nearly twenty times; and while in some of these its meaning is continuous, in others it is non-continuous: 'afterwards,' 'later on.'⁴ But Tacitus never uses it to mark so flimsy a partition as that which separates the divisions of a speech. This, however, is a small matter: if there were no other objection, 'posthac memorabant' in the meaning 'they went on to mention' would be allowed to pass. But the chief argument against connecting 'posthac' with 'memorabant' is the order of the words; and the argument is convincing, though it cannot be put in the form of a syllogism. Messrs. Church and Brodribb are right in taking 'posthac' with 'missas' though they thus put the affair of Andrius before the wars with Antiochus and Perseus in point of time, not seeing the chronological difficulty, or leaving Tacitus and the envoys

false, though Pausanias, whose work was written fifty or sixty years later than the *Annals*, admits it (vii. 13. 1: *στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκῳ τῷ Περσέως τοῦ Φιλίππου πολεμήσας ἀφ' ἐστῆκότι τῶν Ῥωμαίων*).

¹ The language of Florus, who wrote not long after Tacitus, is an exception which proves the rule: he calls Andrius 'ille imaginarius et scenicus rex' (ii. 14).

² E.g. by Furneaux: 'as one meanly born.'

³ Livy, Epit. xlix.

⁴ E.g. xv. 70: *exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. . . . Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum periere, nullo facto dictove memorando. iii. 62: primi omnium Ephesii . . . proximi Magnetes . . . Aphrodisiensis posthac et Stratonicensis . . . exim Cyprii . . .*

from Byzantium to share the blame. But the difficulties of 'degeneri' and 'regem Macedonum' remain.

The best solution I have to offer—since the text looks sound—is that Tacitus has confused Andrius with Philip V; that somehow or other he had got it into his head that 'the false Philip' was a nickname of Philip V. There seems to be no other trace of this nickname, and it is unlikely in itself, since Philip's legitimacy was beyond doubt, and his worst crime was that he contended with Rome and lost. But was Tacitus incapable of the mistake?

If this postulate is once granted, all else is clear. 'Degener' will have its original sense, 'unworthy of his lineage' ('not a chip of the old block')⁵, and the passage may be translated thus:

'Beginning with the treaty which they had concluded with us when we fought against that king of Macedon who was called the false Philip as unworthy of his forefathers, they mentioned the forces which in later years they had sent against Antiochus, Perseus, and Aristonicus,' etc.

Thus 'posthac' is connected with 'missas' without violence to chronology; the wars are given in their right order; the first treaty between Rome and Byzantium is put where we naturally look for it, in the second Macedonian war; 'regem Macedonum' is justified; and Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip' is no longer absurd.

The parts of the speech are linked by 'orsi,' 'posthac,' 'mox.' This is not a uniform concatenation, since 'posthac' denotes the chronological order of the events enumerated, while 'orsi' and 'mox' denote the order of enumeration. But when the two orders are the same, such a variation as this is legitimate, and even to be expected in Tacitus.

Furneaux says that the Antonius here mentioned is the orator's son, who held an extraordinary command against the pirates of Cilicia in 74. If the Byzantines were referring to the orator himself, who commanded against the pirates in 102, the wars are given in their true order throughout. There seems to be no other evidence that Byzantium sent ships to the Roman fleet in 102 or in 74, so that either date is open to us. But the question is scarcely important. The eastern wars of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey form a very natural series; the

⁵ Both meanings of 'degener' are found in the *Annals*. For the original meaning see i. 40, iv. 61; for the *degenerate* meaning see xii. 51.

desire of compactness may have led Tacitus to throw these wars into a single clause, leaving the mention of the war against the pirates to stand apart; and the war of 74 is

not more out of place before that clause than it would be after it.

E. HARRISON.

NOTES.

ON HORACE, *Epist.* I. ii. 31.—Mr. Walter's 'cessatam' for 'cessatum' (see p. 203 of the current volume of the *C.R.*) is a correction which was made long ago by Scaliger. It only partly, however, I think, restores the original text, 'curam' being as yet (to me at least) not satisfactorily explained. Now, the chief part of the Phaeacians' sensuality was over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table; perhaps therefore we ought to read 'ad strepitum citharae cessatam ducere cenam,' and in the strange variant 'somnum' recognise (possibly as 'sompnum') a corruption of a gloss 'symposium.' Compare *de A.P.* 376, 'poterat duci quia cena sine istis;' and *Sat.* I. v. 70, 'prorsus incunde cenam produximus illam.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

ON THE FORM OF PSEUDONYMS IN LATIN ELEGY.—I have lately noted in Prof. J. B. Carter's *Selections from the Roman Elegiac Poets* an error which may very well be prevalent and at any rate wears an air of speciousness particularly likely to mislead. The writer, speaking of the *Lycoris* of Gallus, the *Delia* and *Nemesis* of Tibullus, the *Cynthia* of Propertius, and the *Corinna* of Ovid, says, Preface, p. xxii.:

"These names are, of course, pseudonyms. Acro [Schol. on Hor. *S.* 1, 2, 64] gives us the formal principle on which they were chosen: *eodem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum facit*. That is, the poems were originally written with the real name and were in this shape submitted to the subject of them; later, when they were to become public property, and discretion, or mere caprice, dictated the substitution of a fictitious name, one was chosen which agreed with the original name in the number and the quantity of its syllables, so as not to disturb the metre."

The words which I have placed in italics are an incorrect inference from the accurate statement of Acron. How could *Hostia*, which all recent commentators upon Propertius including Prof. Carter

accept from Apuleius as the real name of the poet's mistress, be substituted for *Cynthia* without disturbing the metre in either I. viii. 42, 'quis ego fretus amo: *Cynthia* rara mea est' (Selections, p. 38) or I. xi. 1, 'Ecquid to mediis cessantem, *Cynthia* Baiis,' 23 'tu mihi sola domus tu, *Cynthia*, sola parentis,' 26 'quidquid ero dicam, "*Cynthia* causa fuit"' (*ib.* pp. 39-40)? One of the commonest collocations in Propertius is *mea Cynthia*; e.g. I. xviii. 5 (p. 42), xix. 1 (p. 43). Did the poet write the real name, *mea Hostia*, in these lines originally, and if so how were they scanned?

The truth is that Propertius when selecting a pseudonym for his mistress paid no regard to the initial sound of the name, nor is there ought to show that others paid more¹: and in the text of their poems, when they were composed, stood not the real, but the fictitious name.

J. P. P.

MARTIAL IV. viii. 11.—The Lucca MS. has *gressu*, i.e. *gressum* (so the C-family); but since the stroke over the *u* may easily be a later addition, *gressu metire licenti* is quite likely to have been the reading of the archetype of the B-family. It is found in the Palatinus and in the paper MS. of Florence, while the British Museum codex has adopted the Renaissance conjecture *gressu timet ire licenti*. The phrase *gressu metiri* is supported by Plautus *Pseud.* 1048:

quin hinc metimur gradibus militariis?

If Martial actually used it in this passage, he probably made the last sentence a question:

gressum metire licenti

ad matutinum, nostra Thalia, Jovem?

'do you (venture to) march with reckless step? But the Renaissance conjecture is very attractive.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ E.g. Horace, if we can trust Acron's statement (*l.c.*) that *Villius* is for *Annius*.

REVIEWS.

RZACH'S *HESIOD*.

Hesiodi Carmina, recensuit ALOISIUS RZACH.
Lipsiae. MCMII. 18 m.

THIS fine book is the summing up of thirty years' labour upon Hesiod. In the seventies, after the appearance of Hartel's first *Homerische Studien*, Rzach applied the statistical method to Hesiod, and produced

treatises upon his language and dialect which still hold the field. In 1884 he published a handy text in Schenkl's Bibliotheca, and then and later collected the entire MS. evidence for the text, weighed the value of the codices and established their connection in many articles in *Wiener Studien* and elsewhere. The whole critical instrument,

courtesy from any point of view which concerns us here; and no other writer calls him king.¹

Secondly, Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip,' as commonly interpreted², is absurd. Andriacus was called 'the false Philip' not because he was 'ultimae sortis homo,'³ but because he posed as a Philip and was not. Had his lineage been of the best, he was still 'the false Philip' since he claimed to be a Philip and his claim was false. The Tichborne claimant was 'ultimae sortis homo,' but he would have been 'the false Tichborne' just the same if he had been a Vere de Vere.

Thirdly, 'posthac' must belong to 'missas,' not to 'memorabant.' In Latin of the republican times 'posthac' has regularly, and possibly always, a *continuous* sense, 'from this (that) point onwards,' marking not a later event but a permanent result. This is not so in Tacitus. The *Lexicon Taciteum* which has just been completed reveals the curious fact that Tacitus uses the word only in his last work, the *Annals*, where it occurs nearly twenty times; and while in some of these its meaning is continuous, in others it is non-continuous: 'afterwards,' 'later on.'⁴ But Tacitus never uses it to mark so flimsy a partition as that which separates the divisions of a speech. This, however, is a small matter: if there were no other objection, 'posthac memorabant' in the meaning 'they went on to mention' would be allowed to pass. But the chief argument against connecting 'posthac' with 'memorabant' is the order of the words; and the argument is convincing, though it cannot be put in the form of a syllogism. Messrs. Church and Brodribb are right in taking 'posthac' with 'missas' though they thus put the affair of Andriacus before the wars with Antiochus and Perseus in point of time, not seeing the chronological difficulty, or leaving Tacitus and the envoys

false, though Pausanias, whose work was written fifty or sixty years later than the *Annals*, admits it (vii. 13. 1: *στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκου τῷ Περσέως τοῦ Φιλίππου πολέμῳ σποντὲς ἀφ' ἐστῆκότι τῶν Ῥωμαίων*).

¹ The language of Florus, who wrote not long after Tacitus, is an exception which proves the rule: he calls Andriacus 'ille imaginarius et scenicus rex' (ii. 14).

² E.g. by Furneaux: 'as one meanly born.'

³ Livy, Epit. xlix.

⁴ E.g. xv. 70: *exim Annaei Lucani caedem imperat. . . Senecio posthac et Quintianus et Scaevinus non ex priore vitae mollitia, mox reliqui coniuratorum periere, nullo facto dictove memorando. . . . primi omnium Ephesii . . . proximi Magnetes . . . Aphrodisiensenses posthac et Stratonicensenses . . . exim Cyprii. . .*

from Byzantium to share the blame. But the difficulties of 'degeneri' and 'regem Macedonum' remain.

The best solution I have to offer—since the text looks sound—is that Tacitus has confused Andriacus with Philip V; that somehow or other he had got it into his head that 'the false Philip' was a nickname of Philip V. There seems to be no other trace of this nickname, and it is unlikely in itself, since Philip's legitimacy was beyond doubt, and his worst crime was that he contended with Rome and lost. But was Tacitus incapable of the mistake?

If this postulate is once granted, all else is clear. 'Degener' will have its original sense, 'unworthy of his lineage' ('not a chip of the old block')⁵, and the passage may be translated thus:

'Beginning with the treaty which they had concluded with us when we fought against that king of Macedon who was called the false Philip as unworthy of his forefathers, they mentioned the forces which in later years they had sent against Antiochus, Perseus, and Aristonicus,' etc.

Thus 'posthac' is connected with 'missas' without violence to chronology; the wars are given in their right order; the first treaty between Rome and Byzantium is put where we naturally look for it, in the second Macedonian war; 'regem Macedonum' is justified; and Tacitus' explanation of the name 'false Philip' is no longer absurd.

The parts of the speech are linked by 'orsi,' 'posthac,' 'mox.' This is not a uniform concatenation, since 'posthac' denotes the chronological order of the events enumerated, while 'orsi' and 'mox' denote the order of enumeration. But when the two orders are the same, such a variation as this is legitimate, and even to be expected in Tacitus.

Furneaux says that the Antonius here mentioned is the orator's son, who held an extraordinary command against the pirates of Cilicia in 74. If the Byzantines were referring to the orator himself, who commanded against the pirates in 102, the wars are given in their true order throughout. There seems to be no other evidence that Byzantium sent ships to the Roman fleet in 102 or in 74, so that either date is open to us. But the question is scarcely important. The eastern wars of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey form a very natural series; the

⁵ Both meanings of 'degener' are found in the *Annals*. For the original meaning see i. 40, iv. 61; for the *degenerate* meaning see xii. 51.

desire of compactness may have led Tacitus to throw these wars into a single clause, leaving the mention of the war against the pirates to stand apart; and the war of 74 is

not more out of place before that clause than it would be after it.

E. HARRISON.

NOTES.

ON HORACE, *Epist.* I. ii. 31.—Mr. Walter's 'cessatam' for 'cessatum' (see p. 203 of the current volume of the *C.R.*) is a correction which was made long ago by Scaliger. It only partly, however, I think, restores the original text, 'curam' being as yet (to me at least) not satisfactorily explained. Now, the chief part of the Phaeacians' sensuality was over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table; perhaps therefore we ought to read 'ad strepitum citharae cessatam ducere cenam,' and in the strange variant 'somnum' recognise (possibly as 'sompnum') a corruption of a gloss 'symposium.' Compare *de A.P.* 376, 'poterat duci quia cena sine istis,' and *Sat.* I. v. 70, 'prorsus iucunde cenam produximus illam.'

SAMUEL ALLEN.

ON THE FORM OF PSEUDONYMS IN LATIN ELEGY.—I have lately noted in Prof. J. B. Carter's *Selections from the Roman Elegiac Poets* an error which may very well be prevalent and at any rate wears an air of speciousness particularly likely to mislead. The writer, speaking of the *Lycoris* of Gallus, the *Delia* and *Nemesis* of Tibullus, the *Cynthia* of Propertius, and the *Corinna* of Ovid, says, Preface, p. xxii.:

"These names are, of course, pseudonyms. Acro [Schol. on Hor. *S.* 1, 2, 64] gives us the formal principle on which they were chosen: *eadem numero syllabarum commutationem nominum facit*. That is, the poems were originally written with the real name and were in this shape submitted to the subject of them; later, when they were to become public property, and discretion, or mere caprice, dictated the substitution of a fictitious name, one was chosen which agreed with the original name in the number and the quantity of its syllables, so as not to disturb the metre."

The words which I have placed in italics are an incorrect inference from the accurate statement of Acron. How could *Hostia*, which all recent commentators upon Propertius including Prof. Carter

accept from Apuleius as the real name of the poet's mistress, be substituted for *Cynthia* without disturbing the metre in either I. viii. 42, 'quis ego fretus amo: *Cynthia* rara mea est' (*Selections*, p. 38) or I. xi. 1, 'Eoquid te mediis cessantem, *Cynthia* Batis,' 23 'tu mihi sola domus tu, *Cynthia*, sola parentis,' 26 'quidquid ero dicam "*Cynthia* causa fuit"' (*ib.* pp. 39-40)? One of the commonest collocations in Propertius is *mea Cynthia*; e.g. I. xviii. 5 (p. 42), xix. 1 (p. 43). Did the poet write the real name, *mea Hostia*, in these lines originally, and if so how were they scanned?

The truth is that Propertius when selecting a pseudonym for his mistress paid no regard to the initial sound of the name, nor is there ought to show that others paid more: and in the text of their poems, when they were composed, stood not the real, but the fictitious name.

J. P. P.

MARTIAL IV. viii. 11.—The Lucca MS. has *gressu*, i.e. *gressum* (so the C-family); but since the stroke over the *u* may easily be a later addition, *gressu metire licenti* is quite likely to have been the reading of the archetype of the B-family. It is found in the Palatinus and in the paper MS. of Florence, while the British Museum codex has adopted the Renaissance conjecture *gressu timet ire licenti*. The phrase *gressu metiri* is supported by Plautus *Pseud.* 1048:

quin hinc metimur gradibus militariis?

If Martial actually used it in this passage, he probably made the last sentence a question:

gressum metire licenti
ad matutinum, nostra Thalia, Jovem?

'do you (venture to) march with reckless step?
But the Renaissance conjecture is very attractive.

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ E.g. Horace, if we can trust Acron's statement (*l.c.*) that *Villius* is for *Annius*.

REVIEWS.

RZACH'S *HESIOD*.

Hesiodi Carmina, recensuit ALOISIUS RZACH.
Lipsiae. MCMII. 18 m.

THIS fine book is the summing up of thirty years' labour upon Hesiod. In the seventies, after the appearance of Hartel's first *Homerische Studien*, Rzach applied the statistical method to Hesiod, and produced

treatises upon his language and dialect which still hold the field. In 1884 he published a handy text in Schenkl's *Bibliotheca*, and then and later collected the entire MS. evidence for the text, weighed the value of the codices and established their connection in many articles in *Wiener Studien* and elsewhere. The whole critical instrument,

gathered by a steady and certain method that leaves nothing to undo and little to add, is now given to the reader in this admirable volume. It is remarkable that the same year and publishing firm should have put forth two such monuments of a life's labour as Ludwich's *Iliad* and Rzach's *Hesiod*.

The features of this edition are firstly the complete MS. evidence, including the recent papyri, which, if scanty are remarkable; next the mass of testimonia and imitations, even by themselves excellent and instructive reading; then a very rich apparatus criticus containing besides the variants a great deal of dialectal and grammatical information. The Fragments which with the Certamen and an index of names, complete the book, include the lately discovered scraps of papyrus, conveniently re-cued from the periodicals where their editors had interred them. There is no real contentment in the world, and the 'lector improbus' would still like Prof. Rzach to provide him with a complete and uniform edition of the scholia, Proclus' commentary, and exegetical notes on the whole author.

This sort of book cannot be reviewed. All that a reader can do is to note some points that have struck him which involve principles of editing. The Hesiodic text has in most modern editions been cut up into shreds, and these sometimes as in Goettling separated by lines: there seems no justification for this arrangement. It is true the topics of the Works and Days are various, and the subject changes frequently; but the same is the case with Virgil's *Georgics* which as they are usually printed do not present the curious appearance of Hesiod. The reader is prejudiced by such a gaping page and tends to believe he is contemplating an aggregation of proverbs. It is, however, only just to admit Rzach's moderation in this, as indeed in every respect. The commentary contains an inordinate number of the thoughts, the reverse of happy, of previous editors: 'suspicionem movit Paleio,' 'pro insiticio habuit Guyet,' 'uncis inclusit Wolf,' are distressingly frequent, and we know that these critics had no other ground for their suspicions than, like their predecessors Aristarchus and Plutarch, their aesthetic judgment, in other words no ground at all. No doubt the public demands this registration of things better forgotten; but unfortunately though the editor is temperate compared to his predecessors, too many brackets have found their way into the text in obedience to such

authority. A bracket is a doubtful typographical expedient, and hopelessly prejudices most readers against the passage it encloses. To take a cardinal instance, the autobiographical passage, OD. 654 sq., about Hesiod's first and only voyage, and the hymn he recited at the funeral of Amphidamas is gravely damaged in the eyes of the average reader, merely because Plutarch, who possessed about as much historical sense as Cobet or Aristarchus,¹ thought the lines contained οὐδὲν χρηστόν. The like imaginary reasons account for most of the transpositions also, which, though fewer in number, occur in the text.

The editor has been careful about printing conjectures, but those he has accepted are a very doubtful improvement. I mean such as Wachler's *τρίποδι βροτοὶ* for *βροτῶ* OD. 533, Usener's *ἐξελοῦσι* for *ἐξελοῦσα* ib. 218, Peppmüller's *ἐν εὐτρήτοις χοάνοις* for *ὑπὸ τ' εὐτρήτοις χοάνοις* Theog. 863, Wilamowitz's *σπεύρην μεγάλης* for *πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλοις* Theog. 335, Scheer's peculiarly useless *αἰθέρα* for *ἥρα* ib. 697, and Stadtmüller's dreadful *δεῖρ' αὖτις* for *δ' ἐξαῖτις* ib. 659.

The question how far forms whose existence comparative philology has recovered should be inserted in our current texts is a wide one, and compared to many editors Rzach may almost be called timid. At the same time one may doubt the practical advantage of confronting the reader with such forms as *ὠπίωνα, ἦρα, ἡσφόρον, ἐξέμεσσε* and the like. If we use the post-Euclidean alphabet, why do we try to clothe in it *præ-Euclidean* forms?

The printing is admirable. The disposition of the page, size of the type, and excellence of the paper may be recommended to the attention of many of our publishers. The book, strange to say, is dated, and—a still more singular circumstance—paged.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ Or Hiller who (*Rh. Mus.* 42. 321) thinks the similar autobiographical passage in the hymn to Apollo may be a later addition, to support the attribution of the hymn to Homer. This is philological anthropomorphism; they do not hesitate *et bona dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa*. Because they think personal references undignified in epos, they will not allow an epic poet to be personal. But there are signs that this is a pure anachronism; cf. the well-known fragment Hes. 265 *ἐν δ' ἄλλῃ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ θεῖος Ὀμηρος* | *μέλπομεν κ.τ.λ.* and the question and answer between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis which Plutarch (*Conv. Sept.* Sap. 10) gives on the authority of Lescher. It is mere supererogation to invent 'Leschem quendam, non antiquum Pyrrhaeum sed multo recentiorem' here (Götting ed. p. xxviii.) and not to recognise the author of the little *Iliad*, speaking of course as Homer.

TYRRELL'S *TERENCE*.

P. Terenti Afri Comoediae: recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit ROBERTUS YELVERTON TYRRELL, Collegii Sacrosanctae et Individuae Trinitatis iuxta Dublin socius. Oxon. [1903]. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis). 3s. 6d.

THE Delegates of the Clarendon Press were fortunate in securing Professor Tyrrell as editor of Terence for their Series. In his hands the text could not fail to receive a sympathetic and scholarly treatment. To commend the work of the editor of Cicero's Letters is (to vary the proverb) 'laudare laudatum virum'. A reviewer must rather try to discover faults.

A thoroughly satisfactory critical edition of the text is of course impossible until the completion of Dr. Wessner's edition of the Donatus scholia and until the results of Dr. Kauer's and Prof. Minton Warren's researches in the MSS. of Terence have been given to the world. Prof. Tyrrell in his modest preface makes no claim to anything beyond the sifting of readings and emenda-

tions already published. He has added very few conjectures of his own. One could wish there were more of them.

But it is unfortunate that he has here and there 'given occasion to the adversary.' Why does he talk of the first corrections of the Bembinus as 'saec. fort. x^{mi} aut xi^{mi}'? Why does he appeal to the Donatus lemmas as if they had the same authority as the scholia? Why does he speak so curiously in the Preface regarding the form (the normal form of Rustic Capital Script) which the letter H has in the Bembinus? And why, why does he saddle poor Terence with the scansion *inimishas* (sic) for *inimicitias*? It is a pity that there are blemishes like these in so scholarly a production. I know what the German critics will say when they find that the recent re-collation of the Bembinus has been ignored in the Preface and (so far as I can see) in the *apparatus criticus*. They will characterize this attitude towards the MSS. as 'echt Britisch.' But the last Teubner text of Terence has its defects too.

W. M. LINDSAY.

SUMMERS' *SALLUST*.

C. Sallusti Crispi Catilina. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by W. C. SUMMERS, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1900. 2s.

C. Sallusti Crispi Jugurtha. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by W. C. SUMMERS, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1902. 2s. 6d.

THESE two editions demand little notice beyond a general cordial recommendation. 'Writing, as I have written,' says the editor, 'for passmen and private students, I have not troubled my readers with parallel passages from other authors except when they seemed very necessary, or at least tolerably interesting. In quoting from Greek authors, it seemed best to render into English.' The first part (A) of the Introduction on 'Sallust as a Historian and a Stylist,' is substantially the same in the two works, the illustrations being chosen to suit the works respectively. Then follows, in the *Catilina*, a 'Historical Summary,' a

'Sketch of the Roman Constitution,' and a 'Chronological Summary of the Conspiracy'; in the *Jugurtha*, an 'Account of the Roman Army at the time of the Jugurthine War,' and a 'Chronological Summary of the Jugurthine War'. The difficulties of the chronology in the latter work, where our authorities for checking Sallust's inaccuracies are far more meagre than in the 'Catilina,' are carefully met. Perhaps a reference might have been given to Mr. Pelham's paper in the *Journal of Philology*, vii pp. 91 foll. with its criticism of Mommsen.

Mr. Summers fully shows up Sallust's defects as a historian. As a man he may not have been so black as his enemies painted him. 'I cannot help thinking,' we read, 'that Seneca would have mentioned Sallust's immorality, had he regarded him as exceptionally bad.' But, whatever he was as a man, that he comes out badly as a historian is clear enough. He misplaces events; nor will Mr. Summers accept the theory that

Sallust's transpositions of events are due to political motive or to dramatic art: 'some of the mistakes in Sallust are curiously like those made in history examinations by candidates, whose partial recollection of the facts, eked out by rhetorical adornment, sometimes produces strange results.' (Catilina, *Introd.* p. xvi). Sallust's defects are due to mere carelessness and levity, to his flashiness and love of sensation: 'he does not *wish* to be accurate or to give a good account of the war.' (Jugurtha *Introd.* p. xv). Still he made a great advance on Roman writers before him, and among his countrymen he had a great name. 'The Romans,' says Mr. Summers, 'had not a very clear idea of the functions of the historian.' Nor, it may perhaps be added, had the English, till just the other day. Whether human nature is even yet ripe for pure scientific history, as conceived by Prof. Seeley, is a question. In the meantime the strange hybrid, the *ἐπιδαῖς* in which the attraction of historical research is fortified by personal interest and literary charm, will find plenty of readers and readers not unprofited. And charm cannot be denied to Sallust. How fresh and how modern ring the speeches of Memmius and Marius, with their denunciation of aristocratic army mismanagement!

Mr. Summers' notes are studiously brief, and he has not been often led, like his author, by brevity into obscurity. Perhaps the note on Catilina 28. 1, as to the mistake of Appian and Plutarch in stating that

Cethegus was one of the two deputed to assassinate Cicero, might be made rather more explicit (See Reid's *Cic. pro Sulla* *Intr.* p. 17n). And in the note on Jug. 31, 10 'a law had to be enacted requiring that a battle involving a loss of at least 5000 men must have been fought before a triumph could be claimed,' it might be well to make it quite clear that the 'loss' required must be on the side of the enemy. In the note on Jug. 114. 1, 'the Cimbrians, to whom he refers, were of course Germans,' as the temptation to connect Cimbri with Cwmry, Cambria, etc. is strong in one who does not know better, the words 'of course' were better omitted, and a reference might be given to Mommsen III. 178.

The text of both works is mainly based on Jordan. In Jug. 100. 4 Mr. Summers after others reads, with the MSS, *non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavisset*, remarking that 'if the future inf. ever was indeclinable, S. is just the writer to revive the usage.' In Jug. 53. 5 he adheres to the reading of the better MSS *proelio fessi laetique erant, tamen*, etc. He acknowledges that the conjunction of the two conditions of weariness and joy is awkward, and I am sorry he did not see his way to adopt Postgate's *laeti quierant*.

The printing is very careful. In Jugurtha *Intr.* p. xvi, note 5, we should read, I think, instead of "§ 85," "ch 85," with a reference to the §§ in point, perhaps 1, 8, and 32.

E. SEYMER THOMPSON.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great. Translated from the Greek with an introduction by F. M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1902.

PLUTARCH and Basil have found themselves together before now, and, though one may wonder what they have to do with 'Yale Studies in English,' both are such pleasant reading either in English or in Greek that the question need not be raised. We are only indebted to Dr. Padelford for once more coupling them, this time in a very readable and at the same time accurate translation, accompanied by ample notes on a great many points, and in particular by

an introduction which deals with Plutarch's attitude towards poetry and compares it with the positions of Plato and Aristotle. Plutarch has no original or important views to set forth, but he dilates on the subject agreeably enough, and among his many quotations supplies us with quite a considerable number of poetical passages otherwise unknown and often interesting. His own matter, moreover, is always sensible, if not brilliant or profound. Basil's view of pagan poetry as a propaedeutic to Christian teaching, a *σκαλαπαιδία* of truer virtue, is also interesting and very well written. I have called the translation accurate, and so in most places it is. There are, however, some misconceptions in it. For instance,

ἀπαλλασσόμενον μολίς means not that 'the fellow still clung to him' (p. 109), but that he was reluctantly leaving him: *αἰσχύνῃ μὴ ὀφλῆσαι* is not 'to lack embarrassment' (p. 107): nor does *ἀτοπος*, which occurs several times in the Plutarch, mean 'absurd.' In the ordinary use it is not *absurd* but *strange, odd*: here in Plutarch it means rather *erroneous*. Cf. Thuc. 7, 30, 2, *οὐκ ἀτόπως*, not *badly*, an uncommon use.

careful and useful work on Xenophon may have it already in hand.

H. RICHARDS.

Xenophontis Hipparchicus. Recensuit PIUS CEROCCHI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCM. 2s.

Xenophontis De Re Equestri Libellus. Recensuit VINCENTIUS TOMMASINI. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MCMII. 2s.

THESE are texts of Xenophon's two tractates, prepared with a fuller collation of MSS. than previous editions, and giving us very minute particulars as to MS. readings. The most important of these readings and the conjectural emendations hitherto proposed of which the editors think best are placed below the text, and a much larger collection of *variae lectiones* and critical suggestions follows after it. Each book has a verbal index to Xenophon's Greek, complete except for a few of the commonest words, and even the latter are by no means omitted altogether. The value of these little editions to Xenophontean scholars is therefore considerable, especially as they seem to have been prepared with care and judgment, and it may be hoped that more of the *opera minora* will appear in the same way. It is so long since most of them were edited anew that there has been a great deal of material to bring together; this the editors have done. Their own suggestions on the text are few and slight; seldom, I think, necessary. More are made in the *Hipparchicus* than in the other treatise. 1. 19 the editor reads *εἰκός* . . . *μᾶλλον* <*ἀν*> *ἀσκέειν*, but *εἰκός* hardly ever has an *ἀν* after it: 4. 5 his *τὸ* <*μὲν*> *τῶν προόδων* seems to ruin the sentence: 4. 2 *χαλεπὸν* is quite able to stand by itself without the addition of <*ἀν εἴη*>. 9. 5 Madvig's *ἀπευχόμενων* for *ἀπεχομένων* should have been mentioned. 7. 4 it was not the first but the second *ὁπότε* (*ὁπότε καὶ οὐκ ἀπαπέσοι*) which I proposed in this *Review* (vol. xi. p. 20) to change to *εἰ ποτε*.

A new text of the *Cynegeticus* would be especially welcome, and I hope one of the two Italian scholars who have begun such

P. Cornelii Taciti de Vita et Moribus Cn. Jul. Agricolae Liber erklärt von A. GUDEMAN. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Preis I Mark 40 Pf.

MR. GUDEMAN has, he says, taken an opportunity of improving his English edition of the *Agricola* (1899), and the result is that he gives us on the one hand a compact and generally helpful introduction and body of notes, and on the other the chief results of a study of the Codex Toletanus. But the desire to be brief, on which Mr. Gudeman lays stress, occasionally makes a note rather meagre. For instance, he tells us that Tacitus' judgments elsewhere of Suetonius Paulinus agree with his verdict in *Agr.* c. 5, *diligenti ac moderato duci*: but we should expect them to agree, and we would rather hear what other critics think of Suetonius as a military man. On c. 45 we want a fuller proof than is given that *honori* bears the sense of *amori*: the only parallel cited is Virg. *Æ.* XII. 57, itself a passage open to doubt. When Tacitus wishes in c. 46 to speak of affection, he says *amavimus* plainly enough. (Earlier in that chapter *honos* is coupled with *pietas* and left ambiguous). We have not seen any edition of the *Agricola* in which such careful attention is paid to the form of the composition, to the really artistic character of its apparently plain prose. Mr. Gudeman takes the cunning machinery to pieces and shows how it is constructed, what older rules it goes on, and by what means it makes its deep impressions of pathos or of indignation. The *praenomen* of *Agricola*, rightly given elsewhere, is accidentally misprinted 'C.' on p. 30.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

Die Attischen Frauennamen nach ihrem Systeme dargestellt. Von F. BECHTEL. Göttingen. 1902. 5 M.

THE author of this little book presents it to scholars as an instalment, we hope, of a complete collection of Greek female names on the same plan. He has chosen the Attic names as being the most complete series, and

as showing with a clearness not to be always found, the social standing of the owners. References wherever possible are given for each name as used in the families of citizens and of those who were not citizens; the occupation of the persons is given where it is mentioned, and special attention paid to the hetaerae. A list of compound names is first given, each followed by its 'pet' or coaxing form (if any), all arranged under the elements in alphabetical order. A study of this list discloses that many of the elements must have been borrowed from male names; such are the compounds of ἵππος, στρατός, ἀγορά, and the lion. Next come those names which contain one stem only; adjectives, feminine or (rarely) neuter; names derived from the calendar (Νουμηνίς, Τριτώ); dedicatory names (Ἀφροδισία Δημητρίω); names taken from ethnic or local terms, or from the state of life to which providence called them; and lastly with sixteen subdivisions, names containing a 'metonymy,' some metaphorical implication, where persons are called after gods or heroines, after

animals, vegetables, or minerals. After each section, the author sums up its results; if he is at times a little far-fetched (we do not see the point of his quotation from Shakespeare on p. 65) his conclusions are generally just and always interesting. Changing tendencies are to be observed as time goes on; and as might be expected, more conservatism amongst the true-born Athenian than with those of a lower social standing, or slaves. Here, as elsewhere, the fourth century seems to show in many respects the beginning of changes. A consideration of what is not used for these names is also instructive. The arrangement of the book is clear, in that any required name is readily found in its place or by help of the index. If the matter on the page is not so clear to the eye as it might be, that is a fault common to German books. The book is done in a careful and scholarly manner, and throws interesting sidelights on Attic social life, as well as on the feelings which prompt the choice in naming a child.

W. H. D. R.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—LENT TERM, 1903.

On January 30th, a meeting was held in St. John's College, and papers were read (a) by Mr. POWELL suggesting emendations of certain passages in the *Hippolytus* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. *Hippolytus*—23 suggested δῶ for με δει: 228 suggested δέσποινα Ἄρτεμι λείας λίνας: 571 suggested τίν' αὐδὰν θροεῖς; metri gratia; 867 suggested ἐπεισφρεῖ (see the apparatus criticus in Murray, Clarendon Press texts): 1053 τεμνόνων must be retained: 1194-95 repunctuation and corrections thus: κὰν τῷδ' ἐπείγει κέντρον ἐς χίρας λαβών πάλοις <δ'> ὁμαρτῇ πρόσπολοι βιμφοαρμάτοις πέλας χαλινῶν εἰκόμεσθα δεσπότη. See Murray's apparatus criticus: 1403 suggested τρεῖς ὄντας ἡμᾶς, τρεῖς, μὴ ὄλεσεν Κύπρις: based upon the vox nihili ἰσημι. *Iphigenia in Tauris*—65 suggested οὐπω τινὸς πάρις. Ἰσεμι ἴσω δόμων: 796 suggested ἐκπεπληγμένους, ὅμως ἀπιστῶ <ν>, περιβαλὼν βραχίονε εἰς τέφρην εἰμι (a new suggestion ἀπιστῶν being combined with a neglected suggestion of Doederlein, βραχίονε.) (b) by Dr. FARNELL on the interpretation of a passage in the fifth century Attic inscription (C.I.A. iv, i), concerning the Eleusinian ἀπαρχαί of the Greek states: objections were urged against Dr. Mommsen's theory, put forward in his *Feste der Stadt Athen*, that the ἀπαρχαί were consecrated at the Halos, and especially against his interpretation of the words τριτοῖαν δὲ βόσρχον—βοῦν χρυσόκερων, as if they referred to animal-effigies made of dough or paste: it was argued that such a view was difficult to reconcile with the phrases ἱερῶν τέλειον and βοῦν χρυσόκερων, and with

the opposition of the clauses expressed by μέν and δέ—ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πελάγου . . . τριτοῖαν δέ: that his theory was suggested by the difficulty arising from the absence of any mention of the sale of the corn in the second clause and the mention of it in the third, but that this might be equally well explained if we suppose that custom still allowed, long after coinage was introduced, of simple barter in respect of corn oxen and sheep etc.: in the discussion that followed it was pointed out if the law of the Halos ritual forbade the sacrifice of real animals, the offering of sham animals would be probably discountenanced also. Dr. Farnell maintained that the Eleusinia was the more probable occasion for the consecration of the first-fruits.

On February 13th, a meeting was held in Balliol College and a paper was read by Mr. J. A. SMITH on recent theories concerning 'Ablaut' and Accent in Indo-Germanic speech.

On February 20th, a meeting was held at Merton College and a paper was read by Mr. FOTHERINGHAM on the formation of the Julian Calendar with reference to the astronomical year. The Julian Calendar belongs to that class of calendars, which are based on the apparent movements of the sun without reference to those of the moon. In Egypt the heliacal rising of Sirius had been taken as the turning point of the solar year, and the mean interval between two successive heliacal risings, i.e. 365 days, 6 hours, was regarded as the duration of the astronomical year. It does not appear that this value for the period was

ever disputed by the Greek astronomers, though they sometimes adopted different values in order to accommodate the solar to the lunar calendar.

The leading events of the astronomical year were tabulated first in the cycles of Meton and Callippus, and then in the paraegmata of various astronomers. The dates assigned to them must be regarded as relative, not as absolute. They moved owing to the precession of the equinoxes, and the want of a fixed point to which they might be referred led to confusion, when they came to be transferred from one table to another.

Sosigenes in constructing the Julian Calendar probably used the Egyptian Calendar as a basis, in which the heliacal rising of Sirius occupied a certain position, as in all probability did the solstices and equinoxes as well. The unduly late dates for these events in Caesar's Calendar may be explained by the adoption of old observations of solstices and equinoxes uncorrected for precession. The Egyptian feast of the heliacal rising of Sirius was probably taken as the starting point of the astronomical computations for the new calendar. In accordance with the mass of Greek tradition, the heliacal rising of Sirius was made to synchronize with the entrance of the sun into Leo, and thus it became possible to transfer to the new calendar the whole series of phenomena recorded in the paraegmata. There is no reason to suppose that the dates thus obtained were ever, except by accident, correct dates.

This theory will explain the distinction between the solstices &c., and entrance of the sun into signs in Caesar's Calendar. The former are taken directly from the Egyptian Calendar, the latter are left in their relative position to the heliacal rising of Sirius as fixed for another age and latitude by Greek astronomers.

There is no sufficient evidence to support Columella's statement that the ancient astronomers placed the solstices and equinoxes in the eighth degree of their respective signs. Perhaps Columella only knew these astronomers through paraegmata, accommodated to the Julian Calendar, and professing to be based on them.

On February 27th, a meeting was held at Exeter College, and a paper was read by MR. MARETT on the meanings of *δῶξα* in Plato: in which he sought incidentally to furnish fresh support to Lutoslawski's theory of the chronological order of the dialogues. His general contention was to the effect that, when all allowance has been made for the influence of dramatic and philosophic context, there remain substantial indications of a forward movement in Platonic thought sustained by various closely allied interests one of which is concerned with the relations of *δῶξα* to *ἐπιστήμη*. So long as the notion of an exact knowledge possible for the human mind has not yet arisen ('Socratic' group of dialogues from Apology to Protagoras), *δῶξα* (cf. Crito 46 c) may stand for that relative ideal of combined intellectual and moral excellence which served the historical Socrates as a foil to the *ἀμαθία* against which he crusaded. With the Meno, Euthydemus, Gorgias begins constructive Platonism, the theory of Recollection providing a basis for the conception of an actually possible *ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν*, or dialectic, in contrast with which *δῶξα* appears as infected with imperfection, whether considered as a fixed state of mind in the unphilosophic but otherwise good man, or as a passing stage in the education of the philosophic neophyte. In the next group, Cratylus, Symposium, Phaedo, Republic, a too exclusive consideration of the object of such a dialectic as opposed to its subject, the human mind, gives rise to a dualism

between the world of sense and the world of Ideas, which even in a practical treatise like the Republic causes *δῶξα* to be ranked altogether too low, namely as a frame of mind induced by mere sense-perception. From the Phaedrus, however, which is transitional, onwards through the 'dialectical' dialogues, up to the Philebus, the centre of interest shifts from Metaphysic to Psychology and Scientific Method, when *δῶξα* in a new aspect, namely as the logical judgement comes to be represented as the characteristic mode in which the activity of thought manifests itself, as, in fact, own sister to *διάνοια*, falling short only of the *νοῦς* which cognises the absolutely elementary. Finally, if, with the Timaeus (perhaps much earlier than Lutoslawski allows; query, just after Republic) and Laws, the old associations of *δῶξα* tend to recur, with slight modifications (e.g. collocation of *βέλαιος* with *δῶξα*, Tim. 37 c, Laws 635 A: contrast Polit. 309 c), this may be due to the fact that Plato is dealing with the stubborn relativities of Physics and Politics in a spirit of uncertainty in the one case and of disillusionment in the other. Meanwhile, there is on the whole discernible a law governing the fluctuations in the meaning of *δῶξα* that would seem to be in close conformity with a law of advance running right through the Platonic philosophy.

On March 6th a meeting was held in Brasenose College, and a paper was read by DR. GRUNDY on 'Statistics of Greek Population in the Fifth Century B.C.' He mentioned that the time at his disposal would not permit him to do more than discuss the data and conclusions contained in Beloch's great work on the population of the Greek and Roman world. Since this work was written new and valuable evidence had been furnished by the recent censuses of the modern kingdom of Greece, and by various statistics of agriculture and trade published by the Greek government and in English Consular reports. Their main value consisted in the data which they furnished with regard to the home food supply and its adequacy or inadequacy for the needs of the present population. The general result of this evidence is to show that in actual fact the present home supply is deficient; but that, were all the cultivable land of the country, especially in the plain of Thessaly, brought into cultivation, the supply would be sufficient. He further took the view that the evidence at our disposal points to a cultivation of the country in the fifth century, which in point of quantity, especially on the hill sides, exceeded in area that of the present day, and in point of quality can hardly have fallen short of the very primitive methods at present employed. But there is overwhelming evidence that the supply of that period fell in many regions of Greece far short of the demands of the then population, and only in Thessaly and, perhaps, in Boeotia, afforded a local surplus. He considered thus far that he must conclude that the population in the fifth century was at least 25 per cent. larger than at the present day, and felt compelled to differ on this point from Beloch, who places it at a figure somewhat less than that of the existing numbers. Dr. Grundy took the view that it was this inadequacy of the home food supply which rendered the typical hoplite army an effective military machine in a country peculiarly unsuited, for the most part, to its operations. An invaded state had to fight for the preservation of its annual crops on those alluvial plains on which the crops were grown, and on which alone a hoplite army could operate with effect.

Turning to other data, Dr. Grundy pointed out various details in which one who had a fairly intimate

knowledge of the circumstances of individual districts would be compelled to differ from Beloch. For actual numbers the data were almost exclusively military. Beloch had adopted one ratio between the military levy to the population for all Greek states alike. This method of calculation is defective because a pastoral state (*e.g.* Arcadia or Aetolia) is less burdened by the levy than an agricultural state (*e.g.* Argos, Elis, or Boeotia); and these latter again than a purely commercial state (like Corinth). Taking these data and also the modern statistics into consideration, Dr. Grundy considered that Beloch had understated the population of certain of the states and regions, especially Euboea, Corinth, and the Lacedaemonian territory, as well as that of Elis, but had overstated the population of Arcadia.

With respect to the population of Attica Dr.

Grundy pointed out certain difficulties in accepting Beloch's rejection of the evidence of Thucydides II. 13, especially in view of Diodorus' evidence on the same subject, which, though it agrees with it in the main, differs from it sufficiently to show that it is not derived from Thucydides. He also pointed out the fact that the age limits of liability to active military service in Greek states were in all probability one on paper, and another in ordinary practice. In the dry climate of Greece the limits of life and physical vigour are far more circumscribed than in Western and Northern Europe. This is conclusively shown by comparative statistics.

L. R. FARNELL,
Hon. Sec.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD,
April.

THE CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL SOCIETY.

THIS association of persons interested in the Teaching of Classics in Cambridge was inaugurated at a meeting held in Peterhouse on May 9, with Professor Sir R. C. Jebb in the chair. It is designed to offer facilities for the discussion of methods of Teaching and for the interchange of opinions upon questions affecting classical studies. It is also hoped that the Society will render possible a greater degree of co-

operation in the Teaching system. Some of the speakers at the meeting suggested the further possibility of forming in England a Classical Association on the lines of the Classical Association of Scotland, if the newly formed organisation could combine with other bodies for that purpose. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the Society.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from page 186.)

IN my last paper I dealt with most of the points essential to an understanding of the Dodonaean cult; but one fact of primary importance has still to be considered. There was at Dodona a tradition of human sacrifice. I have already alluded to the legend that a priestess of Dodona was done to death by certain Boeotians, who cast her upon a pyre (Ephorus *ap.* Strab. 401 f.) or into a caldron of heated water (Heraclides *ap.* Zenob. 2. 84). There were also occasions on which the oracle definitely prescribed a human sacrifice. Pausanias (7. 21. 1-5 Frazer) states that Coresus, a priest of Dionysus at Calydon, once loved a girl Calirrhoe, who turned a deaf ear to his advances. Thereupon the priest prayed to his god and so brought upon the townsfolk a common frenzy, from which many died. The rest in their extremity applied to the oracle at Dodona and were told that the

divine wrath would not be appeased 'until Coresus had sacrificed to Dionysus either Calirrhoe herself, or some one who should dare to die for her. Finding no way of escape, the damsel sought refuge with those who had brought her up; but she got no protection from them, so there was nothing left for it but that she should be slain. When the preparations for the sacrifice had been made as the oracle of Dodona had directed, the damsel was brought like a victim to the altar, and Coresus stood ready to offer the sacrifice; but, yielding to the impulse of love rather than of anger, he slew himself instead of her, thus giving proof of the most unfeigned affection that ever was heard of. But when Calirrhoe saw Coresus lying dead she repented, and, touched with pity for him and shame at her own treatment of him, she cut her throat at the spring which is in Calydon not far from the harbour, and which has been called Calirrhoe after her ever since.' The romantic colouring of the story is of course late, but—as in the case of Aristodemus'

daughter and her lover (Paus. 4. 9) or in that of Comaetho and Melanippus (Paus. 7. 19)—behind it lurks a genuine tradition of human sacrifice ordained by a conservative oracle. The same bloodthirsty trait comes out in another myth connected with Dodona. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. 19), the Pelasgians, when they invaded central Italy, encamped before Kotyle, i.e. Aquae Cutiliae, a city of the Aborigines. On seeing the floating island and hearing the name of its inhabitants they concluded that an oracle once delivered to them at Dodona had at last found fulfilment—

στείχετε μαιόμενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρναν αἶαν
ῥῶδ' Ἀβοργινέων Κοτύλην, οὐ νῆρος ὄχειται
οἷς ἀναμυχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβῳ
καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε
φῶτα.

Dionysius adds that L. Manilius (Μάμιος MSS.) had seen this oracle inscribed in archaic letters on a tripod set up in the precinct of Zeus. It seems probable, as Mommsen pointed out (*Rh. Mus.* xvi. 284 ff.), that Dionysius is founding on Varro, who (*ap. Macrob.* 1. 7. 28 ff., cp. 1. 11. 48 ff.) tells the same tale together with its sequel, viz. that the Pelasgians drove out the Sicilienses, devoting a tithe of their spoils to Apollo, and erected a sanctuary of Dis with an altar to Saturn, whose feast they named the Saturnalia. 'For long,' he continues, 'they thought to appease Dis with the heads of men and Saturn with human victims on account of the line

καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀἰδῶ¹ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα,

but, when Hercules came back through Italy with the oxen of Geryon, he induced —so the story goes—their descendants to change this grim sacrifice for a better by offering to Dis, not the heads of men, but masks made to look like men, and by honouring the altars of Saturn, not with a slain man, but with kindled lights, because the word φῶτα denotes *lights* as well as *a man*.² Such surrogates were of course not chosen at random but with a view to maintaining the early features of the ritual in question. The human faces (*oscilla*) swinging from the boughs (Verg. *georg.* 2. 389, cp. figg. in Smith *Dict. Ant.*³ s.v. 'oscilla') point backwards to actual human heads hung on a sacred tree (Bötticher *Baumkultus* fig. 31). The candles (*cerei*) kept burning

at the shrine (Dar.-Sagl. *Dict. Ant.* i. 869 s.v. 'candela,' 1020 s.v. 'cera') imply a perpetual fire on a sacred hearth.²

It appears then that in early days Zeus of Dodona demanded 'heads and a man'—a demand evaded by the offering of equivocal substitutes. The same principle, in *sacris simulata pro veris accipi* (Serv. *Aen.* 2. 116, cp. 4. 512), is illustrated by the legend of

² Others used the same Dodonaean oracle to account for the ritual of the *argei*. Ov. *fast.* 5. 625 ff. states that Zeus of Dodona (626 fatidici...Iovis) bade sacrifice to Saturn (627 falcifero...seni) every year two human victims (627 duo corpora gentis) by flinging them into the river; and that his bidding was literally carried out till Hercules substituted puppets for men. Ovid perhaps drew upon M. Verrius Flaccus *de fastis* (so H. Winther *de fastis Verrii Flacci ab Ovidio adhibitis* Diss. Berol. 1885 p. 53, Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 62 f.: but see Schanz *Röm. Lit.* II. i.² 320 f.), as probably did Festus p. 334 Müll. s.v. 'sexagenarios': sexagenarios <de ponte olim deiciebant> cuius causam Mani<lius hanc refert, quod Romam> qui incoluerint <primi Aborigines aliquem h> ominem sexaginta <annorum qui esset immolar>e Diti Patri quot<annis soliti fuerint> quod facere eos de<stitisse adventu Her<culis. sed religio<sa veteris ritus observatione sc>irpeas hominum ef<figies de ponte in Tiberim antiquo> modo mittere<instituisse>. Lactantius, indeed (*div. inst.* 1. 21), cites Varro as his authority, when he declares that the practice of flinging a man from the Pons Milvius into the Tiber arose from the oracle καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἀἰδῶ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα: but the blunder *Milvius* for *Sublucius* makes us suspicious. In all probability, as Wissowa has shown (Pauly-Wissowa i. 692, 66 ff.), it was not Varro, but Verrius, who traced the *argei* to Dodona. Now Verrius, though not such a polymath as Varro, was no fool: and we may even accept his view in the modified sense that that the *argei* were an institution of the Pelasgians or of the Aborigines their kinsmen (Ridgway *Early Age* i. 255 f.). If, where so much is obscure, a conjecture is permissible, I would hazard the guess that the *argens* or *sexagenarius* was the superannuated representative of a vegetation god, probably of a tree-Jupiter. This at least would account for the main features of the ceremony—the presence, not only of the *pontifices*, but also of the *flaminia Dialis* with dishevelled hair and signs of mourning (Gell. 10. 15, Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 86); the part taken by the Vestal Virgins (Paul. p. 15, Ov. *fast.* 5. 621); the immersion of the straw puppets from the bridge (*G.B.*² chap. 3); and perhaps the fact that the Ides of May, on which according to Dion. Hal. 1. 38. 3 the *sacra argeorum* took place, were also marked by *feriae Iovi Mercurio Maiæ*. It would also suit the probable meaning of the word *argens*, viz. 'white,' i.e. white-headed, a grey-beard (L. Lange *Röm. Altert.* i.³ 83, W. Warde Fowler *Rom. Fest.* p. 118 f.), and the Oscan name *casnar*, 'an old man' (Varro *ap. Non.* p. 86 Merc. s.v. 'carnales': vix ecfatus erat cum more maiorum ultro carnales arripiunt, de ponte in Tiberim deturbant, Varro *de l. Lat.* 7. 86, Paul. s.v. 'casnar'), cp. *canus* for **casnus* (Lindsay *Lat. lang.* p. 307). Mr. Warde Fowler (*Rom. Fest.* p. 118) has remarked that the puppets used in analogous rites throughout Europe are often called 'the old one,' 'the white man with the white hair, the snow-white husband,' or are dressed in a white shirt. Note also that the *flamen Dialis* according to Varro (*ap. Gell.* 10. 15, 32) 'solum album habet galerum.'

¹ Ἀἰδῶ for Κρονίδῃ is a noteworthy variation: Zeus at Dodona was telluric (p. 179).

Numa. Plutarch (*v. Num.* 15 Langh.) states that once, when the Aventine 'abounded with flowing springs and shady groves,' it was frequented by Picus and Faunus, who taught King Numa many things, including 'a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions hair and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered the charm to consist of heads. "Of onions," replied Numa. "No, human"—"Hairs," said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. "Living," said Jupiter: "Pilchards," said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *Δαῶν*, whence the place was called *Ilicium*; and so the charm was effected.' This story is usually connected with the cult-title of Jupiter *Elicius* (Liv. 1. 20. 7, *Ov. fast.* 3. 327 f., *Arnob.* 5. 1 following Valerius Antias); but Plutarch's version suggests rather that there was a Jupiter *Ilicius*, Jupiter of the oak (*ilex*, *iliceus*, *iligneus*, *ilignus*).¹

The original practice, undisguised by the refinements of a later age, appears in the myth of Phorbas. The elder Philostratus (*imagg.* 2. 19) describes how the Phlegyae chose as their king Phorbas, the biggest and most ferocious member of their tribe. He dwelt apart under an oak, which was regarded as his palace; and the Phlegyae resorted to him for judgment. This oak grew on the road to Delphi, and Phorbas terrorised the Delphic pilgrims. Contending in various athletic feats with the strongest of them, he would cut off their heads and hang them on his oak, where they swung in the wind—a ghastly sight. Apollo thus robbed of his votaries came as a boxer and overthrew Phorbas, while a thunderbolt from the sky blasted his oak. The place still bears the name *Δρῶς κεφαλαί*. Hdt. 9. 39 and Thuc. 3. 24 further state that it was a pass of Mt. Cithaeron on the way from Athens to Plataea, and that the Boeotians called it *Τρεῖς κεφαλαί*. Now we have

¹ Tarquinius Superbus is said to have 'restored' the Compitalia. An oracle of Apollo ordered 'ut pro capitibus capitibus supplicaretur'; and for some time boys were sacrificed to Mania, mother of the Lares, to secure the safety of the household. On the expulsion of Tarquinius the consul Junius Brutus bade the people substitute garlic and poppy heads, and hang up before their doors puppets for Mania (Macrob. 1. 7. 34 f.).

already seen cause to compare the oak-cult of Dodona with the oak-cult of Plataea (p. 181). It seems reasonable therefore to explain the *κεφαλαί* of Dodona by the *κεφαλαί* of Plataea. We are thus led to conjecture that the priest or priestly-king of Dodona at one time was accustomed to challenge all comers to a contest of strength and, if he worsted them, to slay them and hang their heads on his oak-tree. The conjecture is supported by two² myths, one from Thrace, the other from Elis.

Dryas, the 'oak-man' (*Δρύας*), was a suitor for the hand of Pallene, a princess of the Thracian Odomanti. As such he had a rival, Clitus by name. At the bidding of Sitho, king of the country, their claims were to be decided by a chariot-race, in which the victor should win the princess and the kingdom together. Pallene herself favoured Clitus; and an old servitor of hers induced the charioteer of Dryas to remove the linch-pins of his master's chariot before the race. Dryas fell, and was at once run over and killed by Clitus. Sitho, on realising his daughter's deceit, built a huge funeral pyre for Dryas and was minded to slay Pallene upon it. But a divine portent and a downpour of rain from the sky made him change his mind: instead, he prepared a wedding-feast for the Thracians who were present, and gave Clitus his daughter to wife (Parthen. 6, cp. Con. 10).

In this myth the oak-man had to contend with a rival for the kingdom; but nothing

² Cercyon of Eleusis, who forced strangers to wrestle with him and slew them when they were thrown, also furnishes a parallel to the grim figure of Phorbas. Observe too that his name *Κερκύν* or *Κερκυανεύς* denotes the 'oak'-man, being in all probability connected with *quercus*. Thus the trial of personal strength is again associated with an oak-king. Perhaps too a trace of the 'heads' can be discovered in his myth. Cercyon of Eleusis is commonly identified with Cercyon of Stymphalus: c.g. Charax (*ap. schol. Aristoph. nub.* 508) relates that Agamedes, king of Stymphalus, married Epicaste, who brought him Trophonius as a step-son and bore him Cercyon as a son. Agamedes, Trophonius, and Cercyon together plundered the treasure-house of Augoias at Elis. Agamedes was there caught in a trap; and, to prevent discovery, Trophonius cut off his head and fled with Cercyon to Orchomenus in Boeotia. Agamedes pursued them and they parted—Trophonius going to Lebadea, Cercyon to Athens. Pausanias' version of this tale (9. 37. 5) mentions Agamedes and Trophonius, but says nothing about Cercyon. The parallel story of Rhampsinitus' treasury (Hdt. 2. 121) also has two thieves. It seems possible, therefore, that Cercyon is an inter-plotter in the myth, having been imported into it because he too was in the habit of cutting off heads. Again, Apollo may have figured in the story of Cercyon, as he did in that of Phorbas: cp. *C.I.A.* 3. 1203 *ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος Κερκυανεύς*.

is said about 'heads.' For these we turn to its doublet, the myth of Oenomaüs. It is told at length in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus (2. 4 ff.). Oenomaüs, king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia, for whose hand he instituted a contest on the following terms. The suitor was to take Hippodamia on his chariot and flee to the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaüs, clad in armour and mounted on the car of Ares, would (after sacrificing a ram to Zeus: Diod. 4. 73) go in pursuit and, if he caught them, would slay him. In this way he slew many suitors and nailed their heads to his house. When Pelops came to try his luck, Hippodamia fell in love with him and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes and charioteer of Oenomaüs, not to insert the linch-pins of his master's car. Oenomaüs was thrown, and, being entangled in the reins, was dragged along and killed or,

a roof on them. The structure has been erected in order to protect a wooden pillar which is decayed by time and is kept together chiefly by bands. This pillar stood, they say, in the house of Oenomaüs, and when the house was struck by lightning the fire which destroyed all the rest of the house spared this pillar alone.' The same authority states (5. 14. 7 Frazer): 'At the place where are the foundations of the house of Oenomaüs there are two altars; one is that of Zeus of the Courtyard, which Oenomaüs appears to have had built himself; the other altar is that of Thunderbolt Zeus, which I suppose they made afterwards when the thunderbolt had fallen on the house of Oenomaüs.' The house of Oenomaüs, whatever its precise site (see Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 621), must have been very close to the great temple of Zeus; so that,

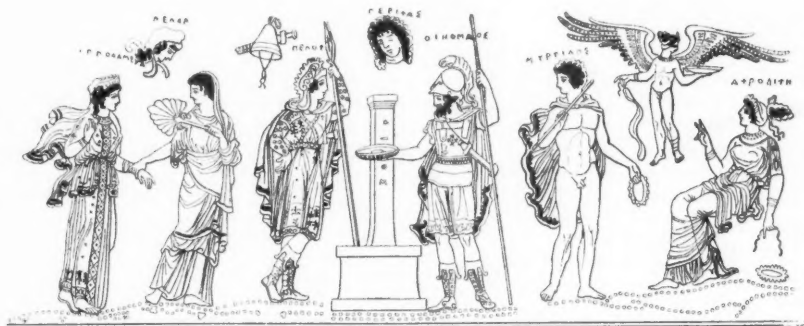


FIG. 1.—OENOMAÜS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ANICONIC.

according to others, was despatched by Pelops, who thereby won his bride and became king of Pisa.

This legend so closely resembles the foregoing one that, when Oenomaüs is substituted for Dryas, we are inclined to ask whether Oenomaüs like Dryas stood in any special relation to a tree. Now a sacred tree was often conventionalised into a pillar (see e.g. A. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult' in *J.H.S.* xxi. 99 ff.). Possibly, therefore, the single pillar of Oenomaüs' palace still standing in the second century A.D. was in reality the old cultus-tree of the kings of Pisa. This at least fits in with all that is known of it. Pausanias (5. 20. 6 Frazer) says: 'What the Eleans call the pillar of Oenomaüs is as you go from the great altar to the sanctuary of Zeus: on the left there are four pillars with

if Oenomaüs' pillar represented a sacred tree, that tree was probably a tree-Zeus. The suggestion is confirmed by an Apulian amphora from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases* F 331) and here reproduced from the *Arch. Zeitung* 1853, Taf. 54, 1.

This vase (Fig. 1) shows a most interesting variation on the scene represented in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus. The artist has depicted Oenomaüs and Pelops, taking the oath before they start on their race. Only, instead of the anthropomorphic Zeus who forms the central figure in the pediment, he has placed a four-sided pillar, splayed at the foot as if hewn from a tree-trunk and inscribed ΔΙΟΞ. This can be nothing but the aniconic Zeus of Oenomaüs, who is about to pour a libation from a *phiale* over the altar in front of his god. Facing

him stands Pelops in rich attire. The two competitors are flanked by Myrtilus on the one hand, Hippodamia (led forward by Peitho!) on the other: Eros and Aphrodite appropriately complete the group. On the palace wall in the background hangs a white *pilos* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named ΠΕΛΑΓ *i.e.* Πελάγων (Paus. 6. 21. 11) wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a second youth called ΠΕΡΙΦΑΞ, Περίφας—doubtless the heads of Pelops' ill-fated predecessors.¹

Another vase from the same collection (*Cat. Vases*, F 278), an Apulian crater, should be studied side by side with this amphora: the illustration in the text (Fig. 2) is from the *Bull. Nap. nuov. ser. vi.* 1858, tav. 8. Although the names are not here marked, it can hardly be questioned that

closed by two tree-stumps surmounted by a couple of doves.² The tree-stumps alone might be taken to indicate the Altis or Grove. But the two doves, as Minervini argued (*Bull. Nap.* 1858, p. 148 f.), should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles *δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων* (Soph. *Trach.* 172, with schol. *ad loc.*). This looks very much as though Zeus at Olympia had once had an oracular tree-cult comparable to that of Dodona. Strab. 353 observes: 'The sanctuary was originally famous on account of the oracle of Olympian Zeus; when that ceased (*ἐκλειφθέντος*), its reputation none the less continued and reached its well-known height owing to the common festival and the Olympic contest.' The oracle of Zeus at Olympia was consulted by Agesipolis i. (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7), and is alluded to by Pindar (*Ol.* 6. 6) as follows: 'If,' he says, 'one be an Olympic victor and

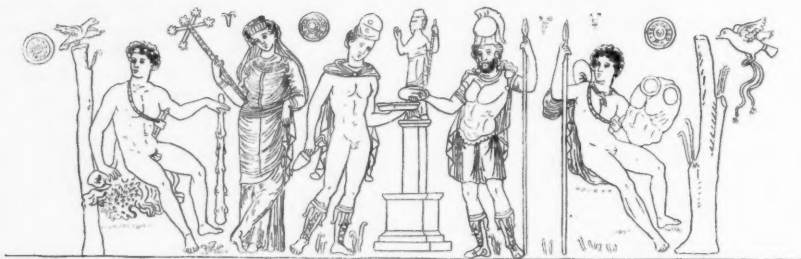


FIG. 2.—OENOMAÏUS AND PELOPS: ZEUS ICONIC.

the subject is again the compact of Oenomaüs with Pelops before the altar of Zeus (so Walters *Cat. Vases*, iv. 136, Reinach, *Rép. Vases. Peints*, i. 495). Zeus is iconic, but stands on the top of the old four-sided pillar with the altar placed as before. The central figures are here too flanked by Myrtilus and Hippodamia; the former bears armour; the latter, a bridal torch. The presence of Heracles marks the spot as Olympia; for a wide-spread tradition made Heracles the founder of the Olympic games (Paus. 5. 7, Apollodor. 2. 7. 2, Diod. 4. 14, *al.*). But the most notable feature of the whole design is its frame-work: it is en-

treasurer (*ταμίης*) to the oracular altar of Zeus at Pisa and one of them that founded glorious Syracuse, what manner of song would not such an one win?' The reference is to Agesias of Syracuse, one of the Iamid clan, which traced its descent from Iamos, son of Apollo (*ib.* 58. 84 f.) and grandson of Poseidon (*ib.* 99 f.), and served the oracular altar of Zeus (*ib.* 119 f.) drawing its omens from burnt-offerings (*Ol.* 8. 3, schol. *vet. Ol.* 6. 7, schol. *rec. Ol.* 6. 119). Possibly before the introduction of the wild-olive the sacred tree had been an oak. Nero dedicated four crowns in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, 'three in the shape of wild-olive leaves and one in the shape of oak leaves' (Paus. 5.

¹ Philostr. *Jun. imagg.* 9. 3 *κεφαλὰς ταύτας, τῶν προκυλαίων ἀνημμένη ἐκάστη*. So on a sarcophagus in the Vatican (Roscher *lex.* iii. 782) and on another at Naples (Baumeister *Denkm.* 1203). One of these victims was Πίπας (Paus. 6. 21. 11), a name which occurs nowhere else: does it denote the 'oak'-man (*πίπρος*)?

² Cp. a vase at Arezzo (*Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 3, Baumeister *Denkm.* fig. 1395), which shows Hippodamia on the car of Pelops: in the background are two laurel-trees, and the car is accompanied by two flying doves.

12. 8). Indeed, it seems probable that the Olympic Zeus had at different times been associated with different trees. (1) Originally, as at Dodona, he may have had an oak or an oak-grove. For this the evidence, as cited above, is scanty. But note also that just as Dione superseded the primeval Gaea, as consort of the Dodonaean Zeus, so Hera at Olympia may have been the successor of Gaea, who once gave her oracles there at the so-called Gaëum (Paus. 5. 14. 10). The oak pillar surviving in the opisthodomus of the Heraeum (Paus. 5. 16. 1) would be highly appropriate to the partner of an oak-Zeus. (2) A mythical equivalent for the oak was the poplar, as may be seen from the myths of Erysichthon (Call. *h. Cer.* 37), Dryope (Anton. Lib. 32), etc. This substitution has left its traces on language; for Schrader *Reallex.* pp. 164, 207, points out that αἰγείρος, 'a poplar,' is derived from the same root as αἰγίλωψ, 'the winter- or Valonia-oak,' αἰγανή, 'an oaken spear,' *aesculus* ('aeg-sculus'), 'an ever-green oak,' etc.; and κερκίς, apparently connected with *quercus*, denotes a kind of poplar (Hesych. κερκίς αἰγείρος) resembling the λεύκη or white poplar (Theophr. *h. pl.* 3. 14. 2). The transition from oak to poplar was probably due in the first instance to an actual change of vegetation. In prehistoric times the oak seems to have been the principal tree throughout Europe (Schrader *Prehist. Ant.* p. 271 f., Frazer *G.B.* iii. 347 n. 1): nowadays the white poplar is the finest tree in Greece (Leaf on *Il.* 13. 389). But the transition may also have been facilitated by some botanical likeness. Thus at Sicily in the precinct of Aphrodite leaves of the παιδέρως were burnt along with the thighs of the victims. Pausanias (2. 10. 6 Frazer) says of this tree: 'Its leaves are less than those of the oak, but larger than those of the evergreen oak: in shape they resemble oak leaves: one side of them is blackish, the other is white: their colour may be best likened to that of the leaves of the white poplar.' Frazer *ad loc.* identifies the παιδέρως with the *quercus Ballota* or the *quercus coccifera*. Nicander (*frag.* 2. 55 f. παιδὸς ἔρωτες | λεύκη ἱσαύμενοι) also compares this species of oak to the white poplar. Perhaps, therefore, it was as a substitute for the oak that the white poplar was venerated at Olympia. Heracles found it growing beside the Acheron in Thesprotis and brought it thence to Greece: 'And I believe,' says Pausanias (5. 14. 2), 'that when he sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia, Heracles himself burned the thigh bones of the victims on

wood of the white poplar.' Henceforward none but this wood was used in sacrificing to Zeus or Pelops (Paus. 5. 13. 3, 5. 14. 2). Also, at Lepreum, some fifteen miles from Olympia, there was a cult of Zeus Λευκαῖος, probably a god of the white poplar (Paus. 5. 5. 5 and Frazer *ad loc.*). (3) The wild-olive, again, seems to have been another substitute for the oak. On the one hand, the species of wild-olive called φυλία was ὁμοιον πρίνω (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλείης). On the other, the species of oak called αἰγίλωψ was also known as ἐλαίς (Hesych. ἐλαίς αἰγίλωψ). The wild olive at Olympia, which was brought by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans to supply a dearth of trees (Pind. *Ol.* 3. 13 ff.), is said to have had this peculiarity, that the upper, not the under, surface of its leaves was white (schol. vet. Aristoph. *Plut.* 586, [Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 51).¹ Whether this was so or not, it is probable that the combination of a light with a dark surface was one reason which led the Greeks to replace the oak alike by the λεύκη and by the κότινος: the word φυλία could denote both the white poplar and a kind of olive (Hesych. *s.v.* φυλία).

Oenomaüs was by no means the only king of Elis who disposed of his kingdom by a race. It was indeed the traditional procedure. The name of the first king of Elis, Aethlius, son of Zeus (Paus. 5. 1. 3), already points to it. He was the father of Endymion, who in turn set his sons to run a race at Olympia for the kingdom (Paus. 5. 1. 4, 5. 8. 1). 'About a generation after Endymion, Pelops celebrated the games in honour of Olympian Zeus in a grander way than all who had gone before him' (Paus. 5. 8. 2 Frazer). Later, the claims of Dius and Oxylyus were settled by a single combat (Paus. 5. 4. 1). 'After the reign of Oxylyus who also held the games, the Olympic festival was discontinued down to the time of Iphitus. When Iphitus renewed the games . . . people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually remembered them' (Paus. 5. 8. 5 Frazer). 'Iphitus presided alone over the games and after Iphitus the descendants of Oxylyus did likewise' (Paus. 5. 9. 4 Frazer). It seems probable therefore that in mythical times the Olympic contest was a means of determining who should be king of the district and champion of the local tree-Zeus. This supposition explains several points about

¹ See further L. Weniger *der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia*, Weimar 1895, p. 8 ff. Cp. also the white olive-branch held by Heracles on a *hydria* in the British Museum (*Cat. Vases*, F 211).

the treatment of the Olympic victor even in historical times. He was feasted 'within the Prytaneum, opposite the chamber in which is the hearth' (Paus. 5. 15. 12 Frazer). His crown was displayed originally on a bronze-plated tripod (Paus. 5. 12. 5), afterwards on a table of ivory and gold (Paus. 5. 20. 2). It was a spray of olive like the wreath of Zeus himself (Paus. 5. 11. 1), and was cut from the *ελαία καλλιστέφανος*, which grew behind the temple of Zeus (Paus. 5. 15. 3), with a golden sickle by a boy, both of whose parents were alive (schol. vet. Pind.

many olive-sprays (Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 123 ff. *πολλὰ μὲν κείνοι δίκον | φύλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ στεφάνους* | *πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν πτερὰ δέξατο Νίκας*), while the *agonothetes* adjusts prophylactic fillets to a remarkable helmet¹ on his head.

¹ Nothing can, I think, be inferred from the griffin's head that tops this cap-of-honour. It reminds one at first of the griffins on the helmet of the Parthenos (Paus. 1. 24. 5) and so suggests a Panathenaic victor. But the griffin is most frequently associated with Apollo (see Furtwängler in Roscher *lex.* i. 1774, 12 ff., Dürbach in *Dar.-Sagl. Dict. Ant.* ii. 1672), which would point rather to a Pythian victory. And a whole series of griffin's heads in bronze has been



FIG. 3.—THE CROWNING OF A VICTOR IN THE GAMES.

Ol. 3. 60). Again, the singular ceremony of the *φυλλοβολία* (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 8. 76 *οἱ νικῶντες ἐφυλλοβολοῦντο*, *Etym. mag.* 532, 46 *παλαι ἐφυλλοβόλουν τοὺς νικῶντας*, other reff. in *Dar.-Sagl. Dict. Ant.* i. 1084, n. 72) becomes intelligible if the successful athlete was regarded as a sort of Jack-in-the-green, a human representative of the tree-god. As such he is shown on a *kylix* from Vulci now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris: my illustration of it (Fig. 3) is from the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, Taf. 52, 3. The athlete is here depicted holding in his hands not only his wreath but also

ound at Olympia (Furtwängler *die Bronzen von Olympia* pl. 45, 46, 47, 49).

Still, ceremonial head-gear is always of importance and it is worth while to investigate the point further. A very similar helmet is found on an amphora from Capua published in the *Compte Rendu de Saint-Petersbourg* 1874 p. 208, Atlas pl. vii., (here reproduced as Fig. 4). The artist has represented a winged Nike bringing a fillet to a young Isthmian or Nemean victor, who already carries in his hands the *selinon* and olive-sprays and is decorated with the ribbands. He wears a helmet with a curiously elongated spike, from which hangs another fillet inscribed *HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ*. The nearest parallel to these spiked helmets that I can quote is the *aper* worn *c.*

Further, the statue of the victor was set up in the Altis (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 16); and, on his return home, he was welcomed with hymns and honours of all kinds—e.g. clad in a purple mantle like a king (schol. Ar. *nub.* 70) he was drawn by white horses (Diod. 13. 82) into the city through a breach in its wall (Plut. *symp.* 2. 5, Suet. *Nero* 25, Dio 63. 20). Indeed Lucian (Anach. 10) speaks of the victor as *ισόθεον νομιζόμενον*. And this was no mere figure of speech. Philippus of Crotona, an Olympic victor, was worshipped after his death as a hero by the men of Egēsta διὰ τὸ ἐωντοῦ κάλλος (Hdt. 5. 47). The statue of Polydamas the athlete at Olympia was said to cure cases of fever

(Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). Euthymus the boxer, a native of Locri in Italy, was actually deified during his life-time on account of his unbroken record at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 152). It was said that he never died but passed from earth in some mysterious fashion (Paus. 6. 6. 10): the same was said of Cleomedes of Astypalaea, who was heroified by his countrymen (Paus. 6. 9. 8). Theagenes the Thasian, a man who won no fewer than 1,400 crowns (Paus. 6. 11. 5), contrived on one occasion to beat Euthymus (Paus. 6. 11. 4): he too was worshipped as a god both in Thasos and elsewhere (Paus. 6. 11. 8 f., Luc. *deor. concil.* 12). These facts occurring among a people so enamoured of equality can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the Ὀλυμπιονίκης was originally and essentially divine.¹

I would here call attention to a fifth century *krater* preserved in the Art Institute of Chicago and published by Prof. E. Gardner in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 1899 iii. 331 ff., pl. 4 (from which Fig. 5 is taken). It represents a male figure holding a wreath and decked out with olive sprays and a variety of woollen fillets. A winged Nike steps before him and a dancing maiden follows him. If this were all, we should regard him without more ado as an Olympic victor. But this is not all. He seems to be in a kind of transport or ecstacy, in which he imagines himself to be Zeus and challenges comparison with the sky-god. He is bearded and wreathed with olive, as Zeus was. He grasps a thunderbolt with his right hand and brandishes a sword with his left. He wears greaves too, one on his right leg, the other on his left arm, perhaps to protect it against a bolt from the upper air. Now this combination of thunderbolt with warlike equipment reminds us of the Zeus worshipped by Oenomaüs. For, on the one hand, the house of Oenomaüs contained an altar of Thunderbolt Zeus (Paus. 5. 14. 7), and, on the other, 'Oenomaüs used to sacrifice . . . to Warlike Zeus whenever he was about to engage in a chariot-race with any of the suitors of Hippodamia' (Paus. 5. 14. 6 Frazer). Here then we have an Olympic victor posing as the local Zeus, Zeus Κεραύνιος and Ἄπαιος. But who is this



FIG. 4.—AN ISTHMIAN OR NEMEAN VICTOR.

by the *flamen Dialis* at Rome. It was a short wand of olive wood (Paul. s.v. 'albugalerus': *virgula oleagina* bound about with a wisp of wool (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 664, Serv. *Aen.* 2. 683, interp. Serv. *Aen.* 10. 270, Isid. 19. 30. 5). Now, if the victor in the moment of his triumph wore on his head a cap recalling the *virgula oleagina* of the *flamen Dialis*, may we not infer that the spike on his cap was in reality the symbol of the sacred tree? Just as the tree once worshipped by English villagers came to be represented by the May-pole with its coloured streamers, so the sacred tree at Olympia and elsewhere may have come to be represented by the rod borne on the victor's head. A similar transition from a sacred bough wreathed with fillets to a ceremonial helmet perhaps underlies an obscure gloss in Hesychius: Κορυθαλία δάφνη ἐστεμμένη. τινὲς τὴν εἰρεσιώγη. ἄλλοι δὲ ὅπερ ὀρί <ὅπερ βόρειον? > θεόν. Preller-Robert's 307, n. 2 had already suggested that Κορυθαλία might be connected with κόσμος.

¹ Here we find ourselves on the threshold of a broader question. Did the great games of Greece in every case originate in a struggle for the post of priestly-king? Where tradition connects them with the funeral of a local hero, the priestly-king may have been thought to embody the spirit of the deceased hero. But the question is too large to be treated in a paragraph.

victor? I gladly accept the suggestion made to me in conversation by Miss J. Harrison, that he is Salmoneus.¹ The essential features of the composition, viz. the triumphant progress of the Olympic victor and his mad imitation of Zeus, exactly fit the description of Salmoneus given by Virgil *Aen.* 6. 588 ff.

per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis
urbem
ibat ovans, divomque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens.

The details are equally appropriate—Nike

remembered that Zeus was not first in the field at Olympia. Pausanias, when discussing the origin of the Olympic games, states (5. 7. 10 Frazer): 'Some say that Zeus here wrestled with Cronus himself for the kingdom; others that he held the games in honour of his victory over Cronus.' This probably implies that the cult of Zeus at Olympia had driven out an older cult of Cronus (M. Mayer in Roscher *lex.* ii. 1508, Ridgeway *Early Age* i. 124). The memory of the older cult was kept up in the royal house; for Pindar (*Ol.* 3. 23) speaks of Κρονίου Πέλοπος, and the βασιλῆαι, the priestly kings of Olympia, sacrificed to Cronus at



FIG. 5.—SALMONEUS THE OLYMPIC VICTOR POSING AS ZEUS.

with down-turned hand deprecating his triumph, the lunatic's notion of wearing a greave on his exposed arm, the upward glance as of one who defies the *non imitabile fulmen*. There is only one difficulty in the interpretation. What is the meaning of the broken fetter on his left ankle? No legend of any imprisonment of Salmoneus is extant. Rather we may suspect that it is part of his disguise as a would-be god. It does not, however, so far as we know, suit his character as Zeus. But it must be

¹ Prof. E. Gardner's explanation of the painting as 'the madness of Athamas,' though supported with much learning and ingenuity, has failed to convince me.

the spring equinox on the top of Mount Cronium (Paus. 6. 20. 1). It would not be surprising, therefore, if a trait which properly belonged to Cronus had become attached to his successor Zeus. The broken fetter, if I am not mistaken, is just such a trait. Once a year, at the Saturnalia, the statue of Saturn at Rome slipped its fetter (Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 4. *compede exsoluta*, Apollodor. *ap.* Macrob. 1. 8. 5, Arnob. 4. 24, Minuc. Fel. 22. 5); and Lucian says that poets and painters represented Cronus as πεδῆτης (*Cronosol.* 10). I do not doubt, therefore, that the Chicago *krater* has preserved an early version of the Salmoneus myth, a version in which at

least one feature is borrowed from the cult of Cronus, not Zeus.

The later account of Salmoneus says nothing about the Olympic victory (except for Virgil's allusion) or the broken fetter. It is given with most detail by Apollodorus, who says (1. 9. 7): 'Salmoneus at first dwelt in Thessaly, but subsequently came to Elis and founded a town there. He was a proud man and fain to place himself on a level with Zeus; for which impiety he was punished. For he declared that he was Zeus, and depriving Zeus of his sacrifices he bade men offer them to himself. He attached to a chariot leather thongs with bronze caldrons and trailing them after him said that he was thundering; he tossed blazing torches towards the sky and said that he was lightening. Zeus therefore struck him with a thunderbolt and destroyed the town founded by him and all its inhabitants.' The same mythographer (1. 7. 4.) tells us a somewhat similar tale of Alcyone, the sister of Salmoneus: 'Ceyx, son of Heosphorus, married Alcyone. They perished through their overweening pride. For Ceyx declared that his wife was Hera; Alcyone, that her husband was Zeus. Zeus then changed them into birds, making the one a halcyon, the other a ceyx.' Myths of this type may be taken to imply that, when the divine right of kings had faded into oblivion, posterity in general and alien immigrants in particular treated the explicit claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. At a later date still it merely made the claimant ridiculous: Menecrates of Syracuse, court-physician to Philip of Macedon, prided himself on his life-giving powers to such an extent that he called himself *Μενεκράτης Ζεύς*, and went about wearing a purple robe and a golden crown, followed by a train of patients dressed up as Heracles, Hermes, Apollo, Asclepius, etc. (Athen. 289 A—290 A, Plut. *v. Ages.* 21, Ael. *var. hist.* 12. 51). Pindar's warning *μὴ μάτευε Ζεὺς γενέσθαι* (*Isth.* 4. 14, cp. *Ol.* 5. 24) was not so far-fetched after all. The old Pelasgian view that the king was indeed divine has, as we have seen, to be pieced together from scattered indications in local usage and mythology. It has even left its traces here and there imprinted on the earliest extant Greek literature. The Homeric epithets *θεοειδής*, *θεοεικέλος*, *ἀντίθεος*, *ισόθεος* have doubtless long since lost their full force; but the significant fact is that they should ever have become current as compliments and not rather have been avoided as

rank blasphemies. When Odysseus promises Achilles that the Messenians shall honour him *θεὸν ὥς* (*Il.* 9. 297) or Phoenix urges (*ibid.* 603) *ἔρχεο Ἴσον γὰρ σε θεῶ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί*, they are of course using the language of contemporary politeness; but the formulae, we may be sure, had a long history behind them, and the latter-day fiction had been the former-day fact.¹

This comes out clearly in the case of Agamemnon. His stock epithet *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν* is suggestive of a divine title (cp. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 65 *divom pater atque hominum rex*, Hes. *theog.* 923 *θεῶν βασιλῆς καὶ ἀνδρῶν*) and in *Il.* 2. 478 he is described as *ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκέλος Διὶ τερπικεράνῳ*. But it is also known that there was an actual cult of Agamemnon as a Chthonian Zeus in Laconia (Tzet. in Lyc. 1369, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38, Eust. 168, 10 ff.) and Attica (schol. vet. Lyc. 1369 *Δαπύρῳ δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνωνος Διὸς ἱερὸν ἔστιν*). And there are grounds for suspecting that he was once the guardian of a sacred tree² or pole: for Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. states that the god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was a wooden staff (*δῶρον*) regarded as the sceptre of Zeus, a sceptre possessed in turn by Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon—'There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes' (Frazer's trans.). The priest who kept the sceptre of Zeus in his house for the year was the human Zeus, the priestly-king, the strong man for the time being. I am aware that such divinities as Zeus *Ἀγαμέμνων* or Zeus *Ἀμφιάραος* (at Oropus, Dicaearch. 1. 6, cp. Rohde *Psyche*² i. 125 n. 2) are usually explained by the assumption that a later Zeus-cult was grafted upon an earlier hero-cult. But it is at least equally easy to suppose that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Indeed, much might be said in support of the view that the early kings were essentially divine

¹ Dr. Frazer (*Enc. Brit.*⁹ xxiii. 18 s.v. 'Taboo') regards the Homeric application of *θεός*, *θεῖος*, *ἱερός* to men as 'a survival, or at least a reminiscence, of a system of taboo.'

² The plane tree at Delphi was said to have been planted by Agamemnon (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 238), as was also a plane-tree at Caphyae in Arcadia (*ibid.*). At Aulis the plane-tree, under which the Greeks sacrificed (*Il.* 2. 306 f.), was close to 'the bronze threshold of Agamemnon's hut' (Paus. 9. 19. 7): cp. the relief at Lansdowne House (Jahn *Bilderchron.* pl. 3, 1).

The influence of this conception over the whole history of the Greeks and Romans has not, I venture to think, been sufficiently recognised¹ and deserves to be carefully investigated. For example, the frequent apotheoses of the Graeco-Roman age are apparently due to a recrudescence of the primitive belief. The individual may live to a second childhood; and the nation may revert to the faith of its infancy. I much doubt whether the Athenians would ever have deified Demetrius, or the Samians Lysander, or the Romans Julius Caesar and Augustus, had there not been all along a dormant belief in the divinity of the victor. It is a lower stratum; but it crops up on both sides of the landscape.

We are recalled to Dodona by the circumstance that among the brethren of Salmones were Athamas, father of Helle, and Perieres, founder of the Dodonaean oracle (Apollodor. 1. 7. 3). In view of the myths above considered I would maintain, not only that the priestly-king of Dodona had to undergo a periodical duel or contest of personal strength, after which the head of the vanquished was nailed to the sacred oak or to the palace-wall (cp. Phorbas, Oenomaüs), but also that this contest gave rise to the local games, the *Náia* (cp. the origin of the games at Olympia), and that the victor becoming *ipso facto* the priestly-king was treated as an incarnate Zeus. I had already shown, on the one hand, that the victor in the *Náia* was rewarded with a prize-jar symbolising a perpetual lamp; on the other, that the priestly-king had in his Prytaneum a sacred hearth. It now appears that this was no mere coincidence. The victor was indeed identical with the priestly-king; and, if my suggestion on p. 185 was correct, he kept up the undying flame in order to feed the fires of a solar Zeus.

Having thus arrived at what I take to be the truth of the Dodonaean cult, I shall next examine various other centres of Zeus-worship round the Aegean basin in order to test the accuracy of my view.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

¹ See the recent articles on 'Apotheosis' by Prof. L. C. Purser in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*³ 1890 and by Dr. F. F. Hiller v. Gaertringen in Pauly-Wisowa 1896; also that on 'Consecratio' by Wissowa *ibid.* 1900; E. Beurlier *de divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius*, Paris 1890; E. R. Bevan 'The Deification of Kings in the Greek Cities' in *The English Historical Review*, Oct. 1901.

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IN many respects this compendium of mythology is a useful book. The facts are given with brevity and clearness, and a special feature are the lists of classical quotations which follow each division of the subject. The reader ought to be warned, however, that the subject is approached with certain theories ready made. Too much symmetry is assumed for the pantheon, and as a necessary result, it is taken for granted that the original functions of gods were special; but it is at least possible to maintain that the gods were largely of local origin, each having been originally supreme in his own district, and a local god-of-all-work. Allied with this is the statement that the worship of Pan 'spread from Arcadia' (p. 64), whereas it was found where the tribe which worshipped him set foot. The relation of ancestor worship to the worship of the gods is not made clear; or rather, since it is not possible to make that clear in all points, the problem is not recognised as one to be solved. Then again, it is assumed that the gods and their legends can be always or nearly always, explained by natural phenomena: even the lameness of Hephaistos (= forklightning) and the peplos of Athena (= mist). Some points of detail may be added. The earliest images of a female deity known in the Greek area are naked; the contrary statement as to Aphrodite (p. 81) should therefore be modified. 'Archon Basileus' was not a Greek title (p. 66), but Basileus only. *Agroteira* should be *Agrotera* (p. 44). Pythia need not be derived from *πυθ-έρθαι* (p. 41). Iuppiter is not for *Diovis* + *pater* (p. 18).

W. H. D. R.

MAU-KELSEY'S POMPEII.

Pompeii, Its Life and Art. By AUGUST MAU, translated into English by FRANCIS W. KELSEY. New York and London, Macmillan, 1902. New Edition. Pp. xxiv., 558. With 13 plates, 6 plans and 275 cuts. 10s. 6d. net.

As it does not appear that this work was noticed by the *Classical Review* on its first appearance in 1899, nor yet the subsequent German edition, we make no apology for reviewing the new edition in some detail. It may now be said to have established its position as the standard work, both in England and Germany, on the subject of Pompeii; and its importance is greatly enhanced by the fact that this is a subject which interests a much wider circle of readers than the scholar and the archaeologist. It is an eminently satisfactory thing to have a work of this kind from the pen of the greatest living authority on the subject, a work which is at the same time scholarly and popular in its treatment. The book comprises no less than 59 chapters, divided under the main headings of Introduction, Public Places and Buildings, Houses, Trades and Occupations, Tombs, Pompeian Art, and Inscriptions, with a concluding chapter added by the translator. In the Introduction an interesting account is given of the ancient city and its fate, of its re-discovery, and of the systematic excavations carried on from 1738 down to the present time, and even now not within sight of completion. The reader is next taken *seriatim* through the various temples and other public buildings, and the most important of the private houses, the works of art found in each being discussed in connexion with them, such as the paintings in the house of the Vettii and the bronze objects used for household furniture. A good account of the typical Pompeian house forms the subject of a separate chapter.

More illustrations might perhaps have been given of the Vettian paintings, which were only discovered in 1894-5; as for instance the remarkable pictures in the dining-room marked *n*, of Dirce bound to the bull, Pentheus torn to pieces by the Maenads, and Herakles strangling the snakes. These are hardly as yet generally known—except for Mr. Talfourd Ely's description in Vol. xvi. of the *Hellenic Journal*—and justice is hardly done to them in the few lines on p. 339. The alternative explanation of the painting of Cupids as

goldsmiths, viz. that they are engaged in coining, might perhaps have been mentioned, although it has now been generally given up. Among other paintings we may call attention to the curious representation of the Judgment of Solomon on p. 17, which supports the theory of a Jewish colony at Pompeii.

The section on Pompeian Art is by no means the least important portion of the work, with its brief but lucid account of the various styles of wall-decoration. A photograph is given of one of the most important of recent discoveries, a bronze statue of a youth, apparently a Greek original; Professor Mau does not attempt to place it, but it is probably not later than the fourth century. We are glad to see that on p. 167 the Doryphoros statue found in the Palaestra appears under its rightful name, not as a Hermes, as in the first edition; but the correction of the text by the mere insertion of a negative is hardly adequate, and results in obscure English. It is perhaps unavoidable in dealing with Pompeii, but there seems to be some slight inconsistency in the use of Greek and Roman names for deities.

The get-up of the volume is all that could be desired—the name of Macmillan is a guarantee of this—and the illustrations are without exception admirable. But the choice of the singularly hideous bust of Caeilius Jucundus for the adornment of the cover seems a little unfortunate.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Argos.—In addition to the discoveries mentioned in the Feb. No. of the *Class. Rev.* p. 89, the site of the temple of the Pythian Apollo has been found. On the south slope of the hill called Aspis was a terrace, on which a large Byzantine church had been built; numerous fragments of columns and architectural ornaments in terracotta found here indicated the proximity of a temple. From one of two large cisterns, which were found near the church, three inscriptions relating to the temple of Apollo came to light. They are dedicatory inscriptions and contain an allusion to the oracle mentioned by Pausanias (II. 24). On a level piece of ground on the west slope of the Aspis and near the temple terrace, the

stadion was found, which, according to Pausanias, lay near the sanctuary of Apollo. East of the Byzantine church, at the end of the terrace, are the remains of a Tholos enclosed within a rectangular temenos.¹

Orchomenos (Boeotia).—Prof. Furtwängler reports that he has discovered here the remains of a palace with Mycenaean fresco-paintings. At a lower depth than the palace were found traces of the oldest town, with round buildings, and graves of the neolithic type. The discoveries include numerous vases and inscriptions in characters similar to those found by Mr. Arthur Evans at Knossos.²

Kos.—Prof. Herzog gives a preliminary account of the excavations carried on here during 1902. Near the village of Kephalos was found a Doric temple *in antis*, the pronaos of which occupied about half the entire length. Here a colossal male statue of Roman workmanship, a pretty female statue of the Hellenistic period, both draped and headless, and several inscriptions were discovered. The building of the sanctuary and its terrace cannot have been earlier than the fifth century B.C. The deity, to whom the temple was dedicated, was probably, to judge from inscriptions, Demeter.

Near the village of Kardamena on the south coast inscriptions relating to a sanctuary of Apollo had previously been found. On this occasion more inscriptions were obtained, together with architectural fragments from a Doric temple of the Hellenistic period. The temple had, however, been completely despoiled in the building of an early Byzantine church. Of antique sculptures the most important is a mutilated marble stèle with relief, the style of which has affinity to that of the Attic funeral reliefs of the second half of the fifth century. The deceased is seated and presses his little daughter to his breast, while an older boy stands behind. The inscriptions found here are important for the history of the island at about 200 B.C. and also in imperial times.

But by far the most important discovery was that of the long-sought temple of Asklepios. Mr. W. R. Paton had expressed his belief that the remains of a large marble temple, situated near a ruined convent called *Παναγία Τάπρον*, at a distance of over 2 miles west of the town, belonged to the sanctuary of Asklepios. Excavations on this site proved that his opinion was correct.

The temple is peripteral, with six Doric columns at either end and eleven at the sides. The ground plan is perfectly clear, as is also the elevation as far as the pediment. In the pronaos parts of the wall and the massive threshold of black marble are preserved.

Below the flight of steps leading up to the temple terrace are remains of an older and smaller temple *in antis*. The altar, which stood on the east of this building, appears to have resembled in plan the great altar of Pergamum, though on a simpler scale. Near the altar are the bases of statues dedicated to Asklepios, which are referred to in the fourth mime of Herondas. On the east of the altar stood an Ionic peripteral temple, apparently of Roman date. The remains of this building are numerous and well preserved.

The great temple was probably built about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. on the site of earlier temples. Traces of Pergamene influence can be noted, and possibly Eumenes II. gave assistance in erecting the sanctuary. The inscription on the base of a statue runs—*ἱέρεια Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ὑγιείας Ἡπιόνας Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου Λατοῦς βασιλέως Εὐμένους*. Many inscriptions from statues erected in honour of Roman proconsuls and their wives have been found. Some inscriptions are as late as the third century A.D.

Among the fragments of sculpture are some belonging to figures of snakes, one of which must have been of colossal size; there are also many statues of men, women, and children. Bronzes, terracottas, and coins have been found. The inscriptions include decrees from foreign states in honour of Coan judges, a list of victors in the Asklepieia (of about 200 B.C.), and a very interesting letter from the Knossians in the Cretan dialect. This letter contains the thanks of the people of Gortyn for the services rendered by Hermias, a Coan physician, to those wounded during the Cretan civil wars of 221—219 B.C.³

Crete.—The Italian archaeological expedition has discovered a magnificent palace near Herakleion and numerous objects of interest.¹

Mr. H. R. Hall, writing from Knossos, reports that an important discovery has been made at Agia Triada of a number of great talents of copper or bronze: each is over a foot in length, oblong in shape, with the sides slightly concave. He thinks that this find is of importance with regard to the

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* April 11, 1903.

² *Ibid.* May 9, 1903.

³ *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1903 (1).

Keftiu, since similar talents are represented in the tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes (date about 1550 B.C.).

EGYPT.

Abusir.—The German Oriental Society continued their excavations here this last

winter. Several more Greek sarcophagi, dating from about the time of Alexander the Great, have come to light. They are of various forms and in an excellent state of preservation.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 31, 2, 1903.

S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (continued). H. T. Karsten, *De Plauti Pseudolo*. Contamination need not be suspected. The faults in Act I. are due to Plautus who interpolated a letter in Sc. 1 and the part of Pseudolus in Scenes 4 and 5. Plautus' model is of the best Greek and worthy of Menander. H. J. Polak, *Paralipomena Lysiacae* (continued). J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (continued). H. v. H. *Emendatur Fronto* cp. 259, 11. J. J. H., *Ad Plutarchum*. Emends *Sull.* c. 35. J. C. Naber, *Observationes de iure Romano*. 'De pignoris historici origine.' J. Vürtheim, *De Carneis*. An account of the festival with especial reference to Alcestis 446 sqq.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum etc. Vol. xl, 1, 1903.

W. Kroll, *Unsere Schätzung der römischen Dichtung*. Kroll seeks to show by many examples that the comprehension of many a simple poem is not possible without a number of presumptions of various kinds. O. I., *Das älteste griechische Buch*. On the 'Persians' of Timotheus found on a papyrus in Abusir. W. Becher, *Eine äsopische Fabel auf einem römischen Grabstein*. C. Fries, *Das schwimmende Haupt*. A criticism of Gruppe's art. 'Orpheus' in Roscher's *Myth. Lex.*

Part 2. W. Nestle, *Kritias, eine Studie*. Seeks to reconcile the admiration of Plato and Aristotle for Kritias with the hatred of Lysias by a consideration of the different political standpoints. The remains of the writings of Kritias are also considered. H. Lamer, *Forum Romanum 1898—1902*. C. Fries reviews Winckler's *Die babylonische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zur unsrigen*.

Part 3, 1903, A. Deissmann, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*. The Septuagint is the document of the Hellenization of Hebraism. It was excellently adapted for mediating between the Jewish and the Greek modes of thought. W. Nestle, *Kritias Eine Studie* (concluded). The prose writings of Kritias are considered. In Thessaly he came under the influence of Gorgias and the Tyrant Thrasymachus. A. Wahl, *Einiges über historische Objectivität*. If love and hatred are dangerous in historical investigation, it must be admitted that these feelings can also lead to a deeper knowledge of the truth.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

4 Feb. *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler (H. Schenkl), I. C. Pascal, *Di una fonte del Somnium Scipionis di Cicerone*

(Hoyer), favourable. *Die Epitome des Julius Exuperantius*, herausg. von G. Landgraf und C. Weyman (Th. Opitz), favourable. *Codices Latini Bibliothecae Universitatis Messanensis ante saec. XVI. cazarati*, descr. V. Ussani (J. Tolkiehn).

11 Feb. R. Holland, *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros* (H. Steuding), favourable. *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler (H. Schenkl) II, favourable. O. Dahm, *Die Feldzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland* (Wolfstieg), unfavourable. J. Koch, *Römische Geschichte*, 3 Aufl. (A. Höck). 'Much improved in this new edition.'

18 Feb. L. Sütterlin, *Das Wesen der sprachlichen Gebilde* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. G. Schäfer, *Die Philosophie des Heraklit und die moderne Heraklitforschung* (H. Schenkl), unfavourable. A. Gentile, *Del poema di ostio sulla guerra istriana* (J. Tolkiehn). E. K. Rand, *Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat De fide catholica* (Th. Stangl). 'Makes a most favourable impression.'

25 Feb. E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 3. Aufl. C. Pascal, *Commentationes Vergilianas* (M. Sonntag), favourable. *Taciti de vita et moribus Agricolae liber* erkl. von A. Gudeman (C. John), unfavourable. L. Preud'homme, *Première étude sur l'histoire du texte de Sueton de vita Caesarum* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

4 Mar. F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen nach ihrem System dargestellt* (P. Kretschmer), favourable. A. Torp, *Etruskische Beiträge*, I. (E. Lattes), very favourable. *Ovidii De arte amatoria libri III*, erkl. von P. Brandt (K. P. Schulze), favourable. J. Sorn, *Einige Bemerkungen zum über memorialis des Ampelius* (Th. Opitz), favourable.

11 Mar. J. Jessen, *Quaestiones criticae et exegeticae* (K. Busche). Some places of Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and Euripides considered. N. Nilsson, *Das Ei im Totenkult der Griechen* (H. Steuding), favourable. *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti. Accedunt Eugraphi commentum et scholia Bembina*. Rec. P. Wessner. I. (W. Heraeus). 'Could not be in better hands.' A. Sunda, *Die Aramäer* (J. V. Präsek), favourable.

18 Mar. E. Maass, *Griechen und Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth* (C. Fries), favourable. A. Polaschek, *Studien zur grammatischen Topik im Corpus Caesarianum* (G. Landgraf), favourable. J. Führer und P. Orsi, *Ein altchristliches Hypogäum im Bereich der Vigna Cassia bei Syrakus*, favourable.

25 Mar. Th. Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies* (K. Regling), favourable. A. Müller, *Das attische Bühnenwesen* (A. Korte). 'Can be warmly recommended.' G. L. Hendrickson, *The proconsulate of Julius Agricola* (C. John), favourable. *Glos-*

sarium mediae et infimae latinitatis regni Hungariae, Condidit A. Bartal (W. Heraeus).

1 Apr. *The Republic of Plato*, edited by J. Adam (O. Apelt), very favourable. *Philostati minoris imagines et Callistrati descriptiones*, rec. C. Schenkl et Ae. Reisch. (Fr. Spiro), favourable.

8 Apr. A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Welt-literatur III. Die griechische und lateinische Literatur des Klassischen Altertums*. 3 und 4 Aufl. (A. L. Feder), favourable. J. N. Svoronos, 'Εμπνεῖα τῶν μνημείων τοῦ Ἐλευσινιακοῦ μυστικοῦ κύκλου καὶ τοπογραφικὰ Ἐλευσίνος καὶ Ἀθηνῶν (H. Stending). 'Has essentially furthered our knowledge.' J. Schreiner, *Elysium und Hades* (St.), unfavourable. K. Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen* (J. V. Präsek).

15 Apr. *Egypt Exploration Fund*. Archaeological Report 1901—1902. ed. by F. L. Griffith. (A. Wiedemann). L. Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Elymologie* (Bartholomae), favourable on the whole. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch zu Cäsars Kommentarien über den gallischen Krieg und den Bürgerkrieg*. 5 Aufl. von J. Lange (Ed. Wolff), very favourable. *Seneca tragoediae*, denuo rec. R. Peiper et G. Richter (W. Gemoll), favourable. E. Ciccotti, *La guerra e la pace nel mondo antico* (R. Lange).

22 Apr. F. H. M. Blaydes, *Spicilegium Aris-tophanicum* (O. Kaehler). 'Will not increase his reputation.' *Ciceronis epistulae*, Vol. III. Rec. L. C. Purser (W. Sternkopf), favourable. *Servii qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii* rec. G. Thilo et H. Hagen. Vol. III. fasc. 2. Rec. H. Hagen (P. Regell), very favourable. J. J. Esser, *De pauperum cura apud Romanos* (A. Müller), very favourable. M. C. Sutphen, *A Collection of Latin Proverbs* (C. Weyman). 'Shows diligence and extensive reading.'

29 Apr. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I. ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly (W. Crönert) I. *Palaeophati peri anistawon*, *Heracleti qui fertur libellus peri anistawon*, *excerpta Vaticana*, ed. N. Festa. (F. Spiro). 'A work of extraordinary patience.' F. M. Padelford, *Essay on the Study and Use of Poetry by Phylarch and Basil the Great*, translated with an introduction (J. Ziehen), rather unfavourable. J. Tomišek, *De compositione Terenti Phormionis* (Fr. Hüffner), unfavourable.

6 May. G. Mellin, *De Tus fabula capita selecta* (H. Stending), very favourable. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I. ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly (W. Crönert) II. *Catonis de agricultura liber*, *Varronis rerum rusticarum libri III* ex recens. H. Keilii. III. 2. *Index in Varronis libros*, comp. B. Krumbiegel (C. Weyman), favourable. A. P. Ball, *The satire of Seneca on the apotheosis of Claudius*, commonly called the *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις* (W. Gemoll), favourable. V. Ussani, *Di una doppia redazione del commento di Bonvenuto da Imola al poema di Lucano*. V. Ussani, *Catullo mimografo e uno scolio lucano* (J. Tolkiehn).

13 May. E. R. Bevan, *The house of Seleucus* (K. Regling), favourable. A. Flasch, *Die sogenannte Spianerin*, *Erzählung in der Münchener Glyptothek*, (B. Sauer), favourable. C. Pascal, *Fatti e leggende di Roma antica* (A. Höck). 'Learned and stimulating.' H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne poésie latine* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Results small in proportion to the contents.' *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. II, 1 (M. Ihm), very favourable.

20 May. R. Preisler, *Zum Torso von Belvedere* (B. Sauer), favourable. P. J. M. van Gils, *Quaestiones Euhemericae* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. A. Gudeman, *The sources of Plutarch's life of Cicero*

(A. Höck), favourable. G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plantinum* I, 1 (P. Trautwein).

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, 2. 1903.

J. Delamarre, *Notes épigraphiques: Amorgos et les pirates*. L. Havet, *Un vers anapestique de Lucilius*. L. Havet, *La prose métrique de Martial*. Emends the five short prefaces to books 1, 2, 8, 9 and 12, in accordance with the rules applicable to metrical prose. A. Misier, *Origine de l'édition de Bâle de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*. This edition is a faithful, if not complete, reproduction of the Palatinus 402. V. Mortet, *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore IV*. Observations on the Geometry of Cassiodorus. M. L. Earle, *Sophocle*, O. R. 10-11. L. Havet, *Plant. Aul.* 437-439. Reads in 437 *angulos usu omnis* and in 439 *Tu* for *id* where most read *ibi* (others *id ubi*). H. Bornicque, *Le texte de l'Orator*. E. Cavaignac, *Le § 7 du papyrus de Strasbourg*. On the *καλακπράει* of v.c. 404 or 403. Furnishes a new indication of the difference which separates the institution described by Aristotle from that of the fifth century. F. Gaffiot, *Études Latines II. Le subjonctif de répétition*. Maintains, after an examination of the chief Latin prose writers, that the subj. never expresses the idea of repetition. With this idea the proposition remains what it was without it, temporal, conditional, or relative, and its normal construction, is not changed. Repetition is contented with the indic. and has not a syntax of its own. P. Mayen, *Timothée de Milet. Les Perses*. A translation.

Hermes. Vol. 38, 1. 1903.

F. Leo, *Vergils erste und neunte Eclogue*. Seeks to free both poems from allegory. R. Bürger, *Eine Elegie des Gallus*. By a comparison with Vergil's 10th eclogue seeks to show the contents and nature of the elegy of Gallus which was its foundation. Rejects the identification of Lyeoris with Cytheris. W. Sternkopf, *Die Senatsitzung vom 14. Januar 56* (Cic. ad fam. I. 2. 2). Reads *Perspiciebant enim... iuros, quamquam aperte, <ut> Volcacio adscenderent, multi rogabantur, atque id...* P. Stengel, *Ὀδλοχόται*. Maintains the old view of this word's meaning in opposition to L. Ziehen in last vol. p. 391. J. L. Heiberg, *Paralipomena zu Euklid*. Publishes the results of the new material upon the Elements, from the Herculaneum papyrus No. 1061, and fragments discovered in Egypt. E. Schwartz, *Zu Clemens Tis δ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*. Compares the variations in the old parchment MS. of the Escurial and the large excerpt in Eusebius' Church Hist. 3, 23 and makes some conjectures on the text. Th. Mommsen, *Stilicho und Alarich*. Deals with the two Illyrian expeditions and the invasions of Italy by Alaric and the relations of Stilicho to Alaric. M. attributes to St. more talent as a statesman than as a general. *Das neugefundene Bruchstück der capitolinischen Fasten*. Refers the mention in the fragment of nine Military Tribunes in the college to the carelessness of the composer of the calendar. *Bruchstücke der Salutarischen Priesterliste*. J. Beloch, *Zuden attischen Archonten des III. Jahrhunderts*. Contestes the combination of Gomperz, and answers the objections of Kirchner (see the last vol. p. 435) to his own list. Fr. Vollmer, *Zur Überlieferung von Statius Silvae*. Defends, against Engelmann, the Matritensis (M) as the only and oldest source of the tradition. Br. Keil, *Ἐκατέρωγος*. Explains this word taken from the remarkable inscr. in the Tauric Chersonesus as a contraction from *ἐκατοντ-άρωγος* i.e. 'of a hundred

fathoms.' H. Schrader, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Schrift $\pi\epsilon\lambda\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\theta'\ \Theta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma\ \rho\eta\tau\omicron\pi\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$* . Puts this, on the authority of a passage in Syrianus, not earlier than 150-155 A.D. S. Selivanov and F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Über die Zahl der rhodischen Prytanen*. The Collitz-Bechtel inscr. shows that these were five in number, not six. W. Radlke, *Cratineum*. On a line of Cratinus in Pollux VI. 68. Th. Mommsen, *Iumentum*. Rejects the interpretation of *ioumenta*

on the archaic cippus in the Roman forum as=*iumenta* which word M. connects with *iuware*, not with *iugum*. A. Wilhelm, *Zu Zwei athenischen Inschriften*. Ch. Huelsen, *Aemilius Probus*, Identifies the Memmius Aemilius Probus mentioned on the podium of the Colosseum with the man of that name who dedicated his extracts from the Lives of Cornelius Nepos to Theodosius II. C. Robert, *Zu Aristophanes*, in Aves 1701 reads $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\pi\pi\omicron\iota\ \Gamma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon$.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Abbott (G. F.) Macedonian Folklore. 8vo. Cambridge. 1903. 9s. net.
- Aeschylus. Die Schutzflehenden, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von N. Wecklein. 8vo. Leipzig. 1902. Mk. 1.60.
- Apuleius. Kirchhoff (A.) De Apuleii clausularum compositione et arte quaestiones criticae. 8vo. Lipsiae. 1902. Mk. 2.40.
- Bevan (E. R.) The House of Seleucus. 2 vols. 8vo. xii. 330. 333 pp. London. 1902. 30s. net.
- Boegel (T.) De nomine verbali latino quaestiones grammaticae. 8vo. Lipsiae. 1902. Mk. 4.80.
- Bury (J. B.) A History of Greece for Beginners. Cr. 8vo. xv. 471 pp. London. 1903. 3s. 6d.
- Caeser. Chicco (M.) and G. Ferrari. Dizionario Cesariano (de bello gallico—de bello civili). 8vo. Torino. 1903.
- Cicero. Schlittenbauer (S.) Die Tendenz von Ciceros Orator. 8vo. Leipzig. 1903. Mk. 2.80.
- Collignon (M.) et L. Couve. Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Index. 8vo. Paris. 1903.
- Cook (E. T.) Popular handbook to the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. Cr. 8vo. xxii. 794 pp. London. 1903. 10s. net.
- Curtius (G.) and W. v. Hartel. Griechische Schulgrammatik. 24. Auflage bearbeitet von F. Weigel. 8vo. Wien. 1902. Mk. 3.20.
- Diels (H.) Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. 8vo. Berlin. 1903. Mk. 15.
- Diederich (A.) Über Wesen und Ziele der Volkskunde.—Usener (H.) Über vergleichende Sitten und Rechtsgeschichte. (Sonderabdruck aus den Hessischen Blätter für Volkskunde. Band I. Heft 3). 8vo. Leipzig. 1902. Mk. 1.80.
- * * Both essays deal with the relation of classical to folklore research.
- Ellis (Robinson) The Commonitorium of Orentius. 8vo. 21 pp. Oxford. 1903.
- Euripides. Hippolyt für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von Dr. C. Altenburg. Crown 8vo. xxiv. 56 pp. Leipzig. 1903.
- Geltii (A.) Noctium atticarum libri xx post Martinum Hertz edidit C. Hosius. Vol. I. Lipsiae. 1903. Mk. 3.60.
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